HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Needed: Something More Than Gun Laws

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The state of New Jersey preceded the Congress of the United States in getting a gun-purchase law on its books. To buy a pistol in New Jersey, you have to prove your reputation for good behavior in your neighborhood. The law has undoubtedly kept narcotics addicts, people with police records, and psychotics from buying weapons. In New York state, where the Sullivan Law has operated for years, gunfire killings are responsible for only a fourth of the homicides.

So it can be said that gun legislation is worthwhile. And yet . . . and yet . . . gun laws can play only a small part in stopping the criminal, or in keeping weapons out of the hands of people who practice or preach violence and hate.

Despite New Jersey law, LeRoi Jones, the virulently anti-white Negro poet, had two loaded .32-calibre pistols on his person when he was arrested at the time of the Newark riots. Other people besides Jones had laid away weapons in Newark.

And in spite of the New York laws governing the possession of weapons, a woman described as a professional man-hater shot Andy Warhol, the pop artist and creator of a far-out school of movie making, just the other day. The natural inference is that if you are willing to break the law by shooting, you are willing to break it by getting hold of a weapon in the first place.

So one comes back to the necessity of changing the culture as well as the gun laws. Until very recently, the culture supported the feeling that any person who wanted a gun had a right to get it without telling anybody. And in the still relatively wide-open parts of the country, where you can bag a bird or a rabbit just 15 minutes from your in-town office, the feeling about the "right to bear arms" remains strong. Ironically, it was Bobby Kennedy's championship of national gun control legislation that helped defeat him in the Oregon primary.

President Johnson meets with his newly formed National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. From left are: Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, Rep. Hale Boggs (D.-La.), Sen. Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.), philosopher Eric Hoffer, Ambassador Patricia Harris, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the President, Archbishop Terence Cooke, Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Albert E. Jenner Jr., Sen. Philip Hart (D.-Mich.) and executive director Lloyd Cutler.

An older generation of legislators—Sen. Ev Dirksen of Illinois is one, Sen. Mike Mansfield of Montana is another, Sen. Roman Hruska of Nebraska is a third—still respects the traditional American frontier feeling about the right to bear arms. Even after the Kennedy assassination we find Dirksen insisting that "there is enough gun legislation on the books now." Says Dirksen: "Let's start applying what we've got. The people who are pressuring for more controls don't know what's in the bill." He was referring, of course, to the new legislation that would outlaw the mail-order sales of small arms anywhere in the U.S.

If the culture isn't ready to accept rigid regulation of hunting rifle and shotgun sales at this point, it is demonstrably ready to accept a national ban on ordering pistols by mail. The proof of this is not so much the new legislation that has been accepted by both houses of Congress. As is usual in America, the voluntary act must precede the political act if a law is to be effective.

The voluntary act came last April when the two big mail-order houses of America, Montgomery Ward and Sears-Roebuck, both ended the sales of guns and ammunition by mail order or by telephone.

Acting at the time of the Martin Luther King assassination, the two big Chicago mail-order merchandisers spread the word that gun purchasers would be required henceforth to come into a catalogue store or a retail outlet in person if they wanted to buy a weapon. Under the new Montgomery Ward and Sears-Roebuck policies, an individual must identify himself and give proof that he is of mature age and disposition in order to take possession of a gun. Sears-Roebuck, incidentally, hasn't sold hand guns for several years.

The big fellows in the mail-order business, then, moved before Congress in this business of preventing the purchase of weapons by mail. What remains to be done is to stop the sales of the mail-order fly-by-nights. Nobody, at this stage, seems to be against keeping hand guns, the natural weapon of an assassin, out of reach of felons, narcotics addicts, or just plain unhinged people.

But let us not be deceived: Sen. Mike Mansfield is right when he says "it is imperative for the American people to understand that no type of gun law will prevent murder, and that any law passed will not prevent persons who are bent on breaking the law from acquiring guns or weapons of any kind."

The job is still one of bringing the culture as a whole to a feeling that violence should not be tolerated in any sphere, from the college campus to the political hustings. We need a change of outlook about the enforcement of old laws more than we need a lot of new laws on the books.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Capital Briefs

● **Sterling Tucker**, who likes to fraternize with Stokely Carmichael, has been tapped by the Poor People's Campaign to head up that mass march on Washington June 19. While Tucker is all for pressuring Congress to raise taxes for the poor, however, Tucker himself is apparently not too eager to pay his taxes to Uncle Sam. On Dec. 5, 1959, Tucker was sentenced to pay a $500 fine, given a one-year suspended sentence and placed on five-year probation after his conviction on tax evasion charges. LBJ pardoned Tucker in 1966.

● Some 1,200 delegates to the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union annual convention were sitting down to dinner recently in Washington's Hilton Hotel when one of them happened to glance at the label on a tablecloth. His eyes popped when he discovered it had been manufactured by J. P. Stevens & Co., the textile firm which the TWU has been fighting tooth and nail to organize for several years. "I'm taking this cloth off this table," shouted the delegate and he proceeded to do just that, sending glasses, dishes and silverware crashing to the floor. Other delegates followed by yanking the cloths off their tables in what was one of the most unusual labor boycotts in the history of the movement.

● Among those who stood in RFK's "honor vigil" at St. Patrick's Cathedral: Hanoi visitor **Tom Hayden**, of the New Left Students for a Democratic Society. Hayden showed up at St. Patrick's wearing an army cap given him by Fidel Castro. He was lent a tie and jacket by Kennedy aides and stood vigil at the coffin.

● Gen. William Westmoreland admitted last week that Administration policy has made a **clear-cut victory** in Viet Nam impossible. Asked in Saigon whether the U.S. could gain a complete military victory, Westmoreland replied: "Not in a classic military sense with the policy of not expanding the war."

● Mayor **Samuel Yorty** of Los Angeles has revealed more about the Red ties of suspected Bobby Kennedy slayer Sirhan B. Sirhan to a prominent New England senator (for more on Yorty, see page 14).

● Cuban exile **Jose Duarte** claims that he quarreled and scuffled with Sirhan B. Sirhan, accused killer of Bobby Kennedy, after he made some bad remarks about the Cuban exiles and had said, "What we need in the United States is another Fidel Castro." Duarte said he had accidentally met Sirhan about three weeks ago at a house in Hollywood, Calif., where an exhibition of photographic slides taken inside Cuba was to be shown. Pictures of Fidel Castro and slogans critical of the Viet Nam war, Duarte added, were posted in the house where he met Sirhan.

● Accused assassin **Sirhan Sirhan** has rebuffed two headline-hunting lawyers who volunteered their services for his defense. Sirhan said that he wanted no part of either Melvin Belli or F. Lee Bailey.

● Is a federally funded poverty group obtaining food from donors for the **Poor People's Campaign** and selling it at a profit? A memo on the bulletin board of the Poor People's headquarters at "Resurrection City" warns that an unauthorized group is loading up food at various pick-up points in the city, selling it and then pocketing the money. "The men are believed to be members of Pride, Inc.," the memo concludes. Pride, Inc., is a federally funded poverty group which operates in the District of Columbia.

● **Herbert Marcuse**, ideological mentor of the New Left, served in the Office of Strategic Services and the State Department from 1941-1950.

● Maybe the President's newly appointed **Commission on Violence** will turn in a pretty good report after all. Dr. Milton Eisenhower, its liberal chairman, said last week that "Apathy is being replaced by mass protest [which] too often by accident or design becomes the unruly mob which senselessly defies laws and rules and contemptuously destroys values essential to a civilized orderly society and stimulates the individual of disordered mind or passion to murder."

● The **Peace Corps** is apparently going to accept into its ranks Mr. and Mrs. Steven Weinberg, the first two students to be sentenced for criminal trespassing for their participation in the Columbia University demonstrations.

● Retiring Sen. George Smathers (D.-Fla.) told colleagues last week that the Democrats have virtually no chance of retaining his seat. Conservative Rep. **Ed Gurney** is the GOP candidate and Smathers says "it will be tough to catch him."

● In stepping up his attacks on Richard Nixon, **Nelson Rockefeller** is demonstrating anew that he is soft on crime. Rocky raised GOP eyebrows last week when he said: "I do not believe, as [Nixon] has stated, that the Supreme Court has given the 'green light' to crime. And I do not believe, as he has also stated, that poverty has been 'grossly exaggerated' as a source of crime in America."

● CBS-TV is revising its **"vote projection"** system after another fiasco in California. Moments after the polls closed, CBS announced that Kennedy would be a landslide winner and later "projected" a margin of 14 percentage points. The actual margin was 3.5 per cent.

● A Manhattan grand jury last week handed up an **eight-count indictment** against six Negroes said to have conspired to kill one city policeman each week. The indictment also tells of plans to break into an armory to get weapons for "further acts of violence" and says the suspects planned to rob a Bronx check-cashing business and then kill its owner "so there would be no living witnesses" to the act.

● In sentencing three men found guilty of looting a Washington liquor store during the April riots to a year in jail, General Sessions Judge **Charles W. Halleck** said: "We talk about a sick society. Perhaps the sickness is that people have gotten the idea they are owed something, and that another man's property is his for the taking."

● The Senate Preparedness subcommittee charged last week that American and South Korean troops are far below combat-readiness in the face of **North Korea's increasing belligerency**. The subcommittee report, heavily blue-pencilled by Pentagon censors, charged serious deficiencies in manpower and materiel.

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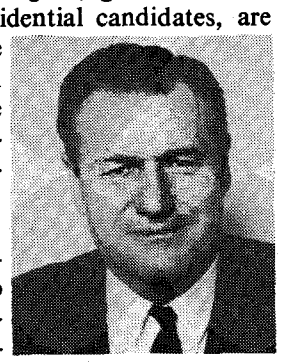
Rocky Apes Bobby

Political observers in Washington, grown used to the cynical operations of presidential candidates, are still somewhat aghast at the way in which Gov. Nelson Rockefeller has decided to use the assassination of Bobby Kennedy to further his own political fortunes.



ROCKEFELLER

Within 48 hours after Kennedy had finally been laid to rest in Arlington National Cemetery, Rocky began to systematically exploit the Bobby following, even though he had never been much of an admirer of the junior senator from New York. In a speech before the National Press Club in Washington, Rocky identified himself with Bobby's goals. He said that he felt a personal responsibility to fulfill the New York Democrat's "unfulfilled dreams" of peace and social justice.

"With his death," the governor had said earlier, "a strong hand has fallen away from the torch of freedom in our land. And so a responsibility rises anew for those of us who remain—not to pull back, but to carry forward the great unfinished mission of building America." Kennedy, Rocky continued, "gave his life for the most fundamental values on which this country is built. He died because he dared to speak out on the issues before the American people."

At Allegheny College in Meadville, Pa., Rocky claimed that Kennedy had the "test of leadership we desperately need" because he could "build bridges between all the divided segments of America."

Twenty-four hours after Kennedy's funeral, Rocky had become the first presidential candidate to campaign in Los Angeles since the murder. He plunged into clusters of shouting Negro students on the fringes of Watts in the hopes of picking up Bobby's fallen banner. Waving off security guards, Rockefeller said:

"If democracy is going to function, those who want to run for public office have got to have the courage, just as the late Sen. Kennedy, who gave his life because he had the courage to speak, because he had the courage to go to the people."

While Rocky was thus wrapping himself up in the Kennedy cloak after Bobby had been assassinated, the public record shows that the governor was never quite so appreciative of the senator when he was alive.

Rocky belittled Kennedy before a cheering audience of Emory College students in Atlanta, Ga., on May 24. He referred to him as the "junior senator from Massachusetts" who was preaching double-talk to the people and tailoring his campaign to whatever region he was in. Kennedy had been liberal in the East, Rocky told the students, but as "you know, he recently campaigned through Indiana and Nebraska in an entirely new role—a study in conspicuous conservatism."

The governor, who is assiduously attempting to woo California's Ronald Reagan, then said: "As another good friend of mine, Gov. Ronald Reagan, said of Kennedy the other day: 'I get the feeling that I've been writing some of his speeches.' "

Whereas Rocky now contends that Bobby was the unity candidate who could build bridges to all Americans, he had earlier said in Atlanta: "We cannot be double-talked into national unity" by such Democrats as Kennedy.

Rocky lashed out at Bobby again in Columbia, S.C., on May 25 when he said: "The junior senator from New York seems able to change his rhetoric as fast as he changed residence. We're getting a little understanding of this carpetbagging bit.

"People are going to catch onto that."

Apparently, however, Rocky thinks no one is going to catch on to his own double-talk about Kennedy.

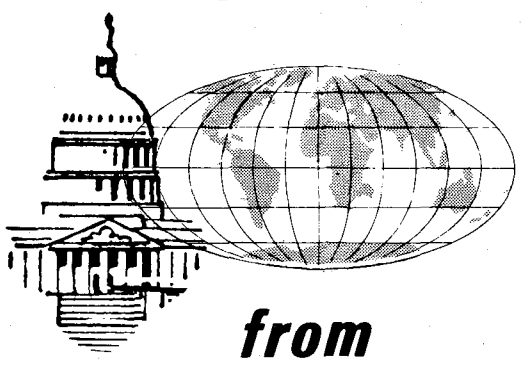
• Aside from trying to "play Bobby" (and courting disaster by his grandstand stunt of plunging unguarded into the crowds), Rockefeller last week began a massive publicity blitz that will last until the convention. He started by buying up huge quantities of prime network television time and placed full-page advertisements on his behalf in some 40 metropolitan newspapers across the country.

Speaking to the National Press Club, Rocky had somewhat gleefully noted that there are no legal limits on pre-convention spending. Now, judging from the extravagance of his early efforts, informed estimates are that Rockefeller will lay out some $5 million before the Republicans assemble in Miami. Most of this will be family money.

Rocky's hopes of defeating Nixon lie almost exclusively in convincing delegates that he is a likely winner while Nixon is a probable loser. Though afraid to face the former vice president in the primaries, Rocky is now hammering home the theme that Nixon can't win the "city vote" while Rocky is just the fellow who can. But the New York governor may find it difficult to continue foisting this line on the public if he is confronted with his own record in 1966. Despite a lavishly financed campaign, according to data in the New York State Legislative Manuals, Rockefeller lost in 21 cities in his home state in 1966, including the cities of New York, Buffalo, Syracuse and Utica.

• Maryland Gov. Spiro T. Agnew, erstwhile champion of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, all but endorsed Richard Nixon for President last week. Attending the GOP governors' conference in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Agnew said he thinks Nixon would deal more firmly with lawbreakers and has a better program than Rocky for improving conditions in predominantly Negro areas. Agnew also took a slap at Rockefeller's stand on Viet Nam and other issues. "I'm puzzled by his lack of views," said the Maryland governor. "I'm waiting for him to say something."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from Inside Washington

Rhodesia's 'Viet Cong'

While U.S. officials are denying it, foreign diplomats are convinced that former Secretary of State Dean Acheson was absolutely accurate when he recently charged the United States with being engaged in an "international conspiracy, instigated by Britain and blessed by the United Nations" to overthrow the government of Rhodesia.

The May 29 Security Council resolution, approved by the United States, not only calls for a thorough economic embargo against that country, but "urges all States Members of the United Nations to render moral and material assistance to the people of Southern Rhodesia in their struggle to achieve freedom and independence."

By endorsing this resolution, say diplomats, the United States has sanctioned a "War of National Liberation" against a non-aggressive, pro-Western country whose only crime has been to break away from the colonial British. We have, in effect, put ourselves in the position of supporting the "Viet Cong" in Rhodesia while fighting them in Viet Nam.

Red terrorists are already at work in this African country, apparently with the collusion of some influential members of the British government. Rhodesian intelligence sources reveal that there have been secret meetings between anti-Rhodesian guerrillas and certain high-placed government figures and that nearly 200 potential and actual terrorists have been issued British passports which have been used by persons to travel to Communist countries for guerrilla training. British Prime Minister Harold Wilson is reportedly looking into the situation.

The London *Daily Express* of May 16 carried an article by John Monks claiming that African terrorists captured recently by the Rhodesians were in possession of British passports on which they traveled to both Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Interviewing five men taken prisoner, Monks was told by the men that they secured British passports from British missions at such points as Lusaka, Zomba and Dar-es-Salaam. They then traveled freely to Communist centers of terrorist training. Discussing a typical case, Monks related that one of the passports, stamped as issued by the British High Commission in Zambia, read: "Valid for all parts of the Commonwealth and for all foreign countries."

Monks added that the five men he saw seemed willing to cooperate and told him of their training in Red guerrilla warfare camps. One said he had trained in Cuba and that he had friends in China and Algeria.

The Rhodesians say that a number of other captured Cuban-trained terrorists have admitted traveling on British passports which were left behind in Zambia before their anti-Rhodesian operation began. Expatriate leaders of revolutionary groups, equipped with British documents, have also engaged in clandestine arms and ammunition acquisitions from Europe, including Iron Curtain countries.

Most terrorists, it turns out, are self-exiled Rhodesian Africans. If they belong to the Zimbabwe African National Union, they are trained in China. Members of the rival Zimbabwe African People's Union train in Russian-influenced countries. All have at least six months training, but for the leaders training may last as long as 18 months. They return to Africa via Tanzania, where camps have been established, and then travel along the great north road to Zambia.

While neither the United States nor Great Britain desires to see a Communist takeover of Rhodesia, say diplomats, neither is in much of a moral position to frown on the guerrilla activities. For the simple fact remains that both countries have encouraged these very operations by endorsing the May 29 Security Council resolution calling for "moral and material assistance" to those rebelling against the current Rhodesian government.

Demos Delay Crime Bill

LBJ and the Democrats have been wringing their hands about the rising crime rate, but House GOP leader Gerald Ford wondered aloud last week why, then, was the President delaying signing the crime bill?

The bill was overwhelmingly approved by both the Senate and the House, with Congress completing action on June 6. But by June 14 LBJ had still not affixed his signature to it. "What is he waiting for?" asked Ford. "A whole week has been lost."

Ford said the statistics by the Federal Bureau of Investigation showed that more than 70,000 crimes were committed in the United States in an average week. "Some 246 murders, 530 rapes, 3,400 robberies and over 5,000 aggravated assaults," said Ford, "have ticked off the crime clock since Congress did its duty a week ago today [June 13]."

LBJ left for the week-end at his Texas ranch without indicating whether he planned to sign or veto the bill. While there was no immediate reac-

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tion to Ford's demand, Acting Atty. Gen. Warren Christopher termed Ford's attack a "crude and churlish attempt to shift the blame for delay on this legislation."

Actually, however, it has been both the President and the Democrats who have delayed action on the bill. Liberal Democrats in both the Senate and the House, following the Administration's cue, tried valiantly to demolish the bill's attempts to modify recent Supreme Court rulings and permit voluntary confessions to be used as evidence in a federal case. They also tried to eliminate the section permitting the carefully controlled use of a court-approved wiretap in major crimes. Both Sen. Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.) and Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) led lengthy fights on behalf of the Administration to emasculate the Congress-passed bill.

Thus objective politicos ask with Ford: Why has LBJ decided to delay the crime bill's enactment?

Paris Talks Hurt U.S.

Veteran anti-Communist diplomats are saying that unless the Administration quickly alters its policy at the Paris peace talks, South Viet Nam will fall like a ripe plum to the North Vietnamese.

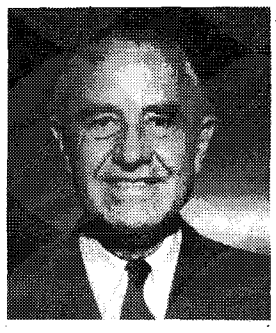
For some seven weeks the Viet Cong have been raining Russian rockets almost daily on the civilian population in Saigon, killing as many as 130 civilians and wounding 1,000 more. The latest wrinkle in this "Operation Terror" has been to flood South Viet Nam's capital city with leaflets threatening to increase the rocket barrage to 100 rounds a night.

Yet while this terrorizing of the population continues, President Johnson still sticks to his March 31 order which excluded American bombing raids from 78 per cent of North Viet Nam and 90 per cent of its civilian population.

As long as we permit the Reds to unleash this sort of punishment without responding in kind, it is now being said, the United States and the South Vietnamese will undoubtedly lose ground to Hanoi.

The failure of the United States to react with some vigor, moreover, is a sign to our Asian allies that America may be on the verge of throwing in the sponge.

As if our failure to respond to Communist provocations weren't enough to undermine the confidence of our allies, W. Averell Harriman, our chief negotiater in Paris, recently held an extraordinary private conference with American industrialist Cyrus Eaton.



HARRIMAN

The tete-a-tete has hardly inspired the hopes of those desiring a victory in Viet Nam. A winner of the Lenin International Peace prize and a notorious spreader of anti-American propaganda, Eaton had previously conferred for an hour with Xuan Thuy, Hanoi's chief negotiater. Following that pleasant confab, North Vietnamese sources quoted Eaton as saying the Americans were the aggressors in Viet Nam.

Eaton, in fact, had come to Paris from Moscow when Tass had also said that Eaton "opposes the American aggression in Southeast Asia."

While our allies think it is appalling that Harriman would take the time out to meet with this pro-Soviet apologist, what worries them even more have been Eaton's statements subsequent to the Harriman meeting. Following his conversation with Harriman, Eaton returned to Washington to announce that "We are on the threshold of peace in Viet Nam." To veteran diplomatic observers, this meant that Eaton believed the United States was about to arrange a settlement on Viet Nam pleasing to Hanoi.

Whatever the truth of the matter, our Asian allies feel nothing but gloom over the present negotiations in Paris.

Ray Mystery Deepens

Police investigative forces in Washington, Toronto and London are becoming more and more positive that James Earl Ray, accused assassin of Dr. Martin Luther King, had assistance both in his crime and subsequent elaborate escape attempt. Although these investigators so far only term such a conspiracy an "important possibility," evidence is mounting up and each turn in Ray's recent activities brings up new questions.

RAY

First of all, James Earl Ray was an escaped convict with a past history of minor holdup ventures, most of which he bungled. Killing the nation's preeminent civil rights leader is hardly the type of act which would furnish the anonymity and obscurity an escaped "con" needs. And, although Ray is accused of being a racist, there is no indication in his previous record of his having either the courage or commitment to carry out a political assassination.

Moreover, Ray's intricate maneuverings before and after Dr. King's slaying are not typical of the man who once robbed a Chicago cab driver of $11 and thereupon ran smack into the arms of passing policemen. In fact, it would be virtually impossible for all but the most seasoned international criminal to pull off some of the ploys Ray allegedly accomplished.

On the afternoon of April 4, a man using the name John Willard took a room in a Memphis flophouse and a few hours later Dr. King was felled by a rifle fired from its communal bathroom.

The FBI claims to have identified Ray from fingerprints on the murder weapon, which "Willard" dropped on the sidewalk in front of the rooming house as he sped away in a white Mustang.

There followed the most massive manhunt in FBI history. Yet, Ray's trail grew cold until a routine check by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (acting on information that Ray was in Canada the year before) turned up Ray's photograph on a passport application. Further checking revealed Ray had travelled to Toronto on April 8, moved into a small roominghouse and obtained a birth certificate in the name of Paul Bridgeman.

Later Ray received a Canadian passport through a travel agency, this time using the name Ramon George Sneyd, and left for London. After living in two different roominghouses in London, Ray flew to Lisbon, Portugal.

Although the FBI initially reported when Ray was apprehended in London June 8 that he had just flown in from Lisbon and was en route to Brussels, this was later corrected when Scotland Yard discovered Ray had been back in London since May 17. With the mystery man's arrest, however, the real mysteries were just beginning to come to the surface.

How did Ray, whose last known robbery netted him only $120, finance his operations? Although he frequented only flophouses and cheap bars, it would have taken thousands of dollars to cover his hefty travel expenses. Ray was reported to have been contacted by persons as yet unknown in Toronto, and in Lisbon he reportedly took money from a Swiss bank account, but no further details have yet been uncovered.

How did it happen that three of the aliases Ray reportedly used—Galt, Bridgeman, Sneyd—actually were the names of three respectable Toronto citizens who not only lived within a few blocks of each other, but also bore a striking resemblance to Ray in height, coloring and facial features? One of the men, Toronto constable Raymond Sneyd, even bore scars similar to Ray's.

And how did Ray, whose only previous stay in Canada had been for a couple of weeks, have such easy access to a Canadian passport? It is not difficult to get a Canadian passport, nor a phony birth certificate, but Canadian authorities claim it normally takes citizens longer to obtain than it did Ray—approximately two weeks. Police officials have noted that Ray knew all the international travel loopholes usually employed by espionage agents, narcotics smugglers and other such creatures of the underworld who must enter and leave countries quickly and secretively. Ray, however, was not considered a loophole expert. Thus it is believed he almost certainly had an accomplice or accomplices. But who they might have been remains a mystery as does the motive for murdering Dr. King.

Poor Radicals' March

The Poor People's Campaign continues to be in radical hands:

• Sterling Tucker, who hobnobs with Stokely Carmichael and various other militants, is directing the campaign's March on Washington on June 19.

• Roscow Proctor, identified by J. Edgar Hoover as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, has turned up as a special Bay Area recruiter for the campaign.

• Rep. Albert Watson (R.-S.C.), a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, had previously charged that Carl and Anne Braden, who have been identified under oath as Communists, were key organizers of the campaign. No denials have come so far from either the Bradens or spokesmen for the Poor People.

• The Rev. James Bevel, a high-ranking official of the march, recently acknowledged his own Marxist views to congressional aides when he said that "Personally, capitalism is intellectually incompatible with me." Rep. Watson has brought out additional information linking Bevel with leftwing extremism.

Watson points out that Bevel served as national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam. "His wife, Diane Nash Bevel," Waston continued, "made an unauthorized trip to Hanoi, capital of North Viet Nam." In addition, said Watson, Bevel "was the signer of a public appeal for funds to furnish the DuBois Clubs' 'freedom center' clubhouse in Chicago and joined as a co-plaintiff with the DuBois Clubs in a suit to restrain the Subversive Activities Control Board from holding hearings on the DCA, or DuBois Clubs of America."

Thus the campaign continues in its merry leftward way.

SDS' Battle Plan

Leaders of the New Left Students for a Democratic Society boasted last week they were extending their revolution from the campus to the city.

The goal, says SDS wheelhorse Carl Davidson, "is an alliance between students and workers—like in France." Davidson revealed that scores of SDS functionaries are taking summer jobs in big city factories and moving into low-income neighborhoods.

"We will learn how the worker thinks and how they live," Davidson said. "Then we will organize."

Davidson has compiled a 36-page organizational manual for urban shock troops. Among his largest cities: Memphis, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, Houston, Oklahoma City, Los Angeles and Oakland.

The SDS members are told that their primary role is "the turning of white students and workers consciously against the police, the government and the ruling class in the country."

The Wall Street Journal *reported last week that Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, may step down this year. Warren, 77, would want a hand in picking his successor; with Nixon in the White House, Warren feels that his influence in doing so would be lessened. Also, President Johnson is said to prefer Justice Abe Fortas, a longtime political crony, to replace Warren.*

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POLITICS '68

HUMPHREY

More than 400 delegates previously pledged or leaning to Sen. Robert Kennedy are now expected to switch their support to **Hubert Humphrey**, according to a survey by the New York Times. Such a switch would enable the vice president to capture the Democratic presidential nomination on the first ballot.

HUMPHREY

By what the Times says is a conservative estimate, Humphrey will have more than **1,000 delegate votes**, with only 1,312 needed to nominate. Nor does the total include New York's yet unchosen 190-man delegation. Sen. Eugene McCarthy, on the other hand, is believed to have fewer than 450 votes, with some 600 delegates still in the neutral category.

Since Kennedy's death, Humphrey has reportedly picked up the 118-vote **Illinois delegation**; 50 votes in **New Jersey** and as many as 60 of **California's 174 delegates**. There was even some evidence that certain of McCarthy's hard-won primary votes would remain with him only through the first obligatory ballot. Hence it looks like a shoo-in for Humphrey in Chicago.

RAFFERTY

Plans are afoot in California to have the country's two biggest unions—**the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers**—pool their resources in an effort to help former State Controller **Alan Cranston** defeat State Superintendent of Public Instruction Max Rafferty for the U.S. Senate. The prospective Teamsters-UAW tie-up will also extend to other matters, such as civil rights, low-cost housing and anti-poverty programs, but right now the two unions are concerned with the Cranston-Rafferty battle.

RAFFERTY

While Rafferty is a solid conservative, Cranston is a radical Democrat, who was the unsuccessful choice of the far-left **California Democratic Council** in 1964 for the Democratic senatorial nomination over portly Pierre Salinger. The CDC's left-wing extremism is indicated by its stands in favor of trade with Red China and abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and its opposition to U.S. intervention to prevent a Communist take-over of Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic.

The possible Teamster-UAW joint venture in politics and other matters grew out of an unpublicized meeting with **Walter Reuther**, president of the United Auto Workers, and **Einar O. Mohn**, international director of the Western Conference of Teamsters. Both unions, of course, have been booted out of the AFL-CIO federation.

Mohn has been most vehement about wanting to defeat Rafferty, who defeated incumbent Sen. **Thomas Kuchel** for the GOP senatorial nomination. "I'm completely nonpartisan," Mohn professed, "but we think it was a tragedy that Kuchel was not nominated. The Teamsters have supported Kuchel all the time; Rafferty's whole social philosophy is so reactionary and right wing it would be a real tragedy to the state and nation if he were elected."

While Mohn and Reuther are teaming together for the specific purpose of defeating Rafferty, the **regular AFL-CIO unions** are also expected to come through with cash and manpower to see to it that California's conservative candidate won't make it to Washington in January.

• The nation's two leading liberal newspapers, the **New York Times** and the ***Washington Post***, *lost no time in* bemoaning Rafferty's defeat of Kuchel. The Post claimed that by "turning away from its leading progressive moderate, the Republican party of California may be setting itself up for a fiasco comparable to that of the national GOP in 1964." Wailed the Times: "[Rafferty's] views on practically everything are so reactionary that they make those of Gov. Ronald Reagan and Sen. George Murphy seem progressive. . . ."

KENTUCKY

The agreement by Convington, Ky., Mayor **Claude E. Hensley** to lend his name to Hubert Humphrey's campaign literature is believed to have been the key to getting the federal government to loosen up with a long-delayed $313,000 federal **urban renewal grant** for northern Kentucky.

The Cincinnati Enquirer, which probed the story in depth, claims that Mayor Hensley talked with Vice President Humphrey on the telephone about a week before in an effort to accelerate approval of the stalled federal monies. Later, the mayor received a call from **Neal Peterson**, special assistant to the vice president. According to the Enquirer, Peterson agreed to help the city, but only if Hensley would publicly endorse Humphrey for the presidency and permit his name to appear on the vice president's National Mayors for Humphrey campaign literature.

"A life-long Democrat," said the Enquirer, "Hensley agreed and announced his support of Humphrey. . . ." Hensley also commented: "It was Mr. Humphrey who broke the ice for us on this project. I am convinced that Mr. Humphrey is the best presidential candidate and will help him in any way I can."

PENNSYLVANIA

The "favorite son" candidacy of Pennsylvania's liberal Gov. ***Raymond Shafer*** received a rude set-back last week when Rep. **James Fulton** (R.-Pa.) announced that he would vote for Richard Nixon on the first ballot at Miami Beach. Fulton said he could not support Shafer's candidacy because of his belief that the governor has promised the delegation to **Nelson Rockefeller**.

Fulton predicted that at least 30 of Pennsylvania's 64 delegates would join him in support of Nixon. Fulton's declaration came less than 24 hours after Shafer met with some of the delegates in the state's executive mansion. The meeting, said Fulton, "turned out to be a **Rockefeller rally**."

Fulton said that he asked Shafer if he "intended to live up to his commitment to be an **uncommitted favorite son**," and Shafer "replied that he did not now understand it that way."

ILLINOIS

Illinois Republicans last week nominated hard-hitting conservative **Richard Ogilvie** for governor. Ogilvie, president of the Cook County Board of Supervisors, won by 43,000 votes over conservative **John Henry Altofer**, Peoria industrialist, with former Gov. William Stratton and S. Thomas Hutton, Elmhurst attorney, trailing far behind.

OGILVIE

"**Law and order**" will be the campaign's main issue, according to Ogilvie, a former racket-busting U.S. attorney and Cook County sheriff. Ogilvie takes on incumbent Democrat **Samuel Shapiro**, the former lieutenant governor who was elevated to the top spot when Gov. Otto Kerner accepted a federal judgeship.

Shapiro has been promised massive support from the powerful machine of Chicago Mayor **Richard Daley** and Illinois politicos expect the contest to be close.

WALLACE

With former Alabama Gov. George Wallace increasingly in the national spotlight as his third-party presidential bid gains momentum, the press across the country is turning more and more attention on the **financial dealings** of the state government headquartered in Montgomery. And much of this attention is unwanted by Wallace associates.

WALLACE

The reason for the press probing of the state's financial relationships—mainly with **construction contractors**—is the general knowledge that Wallace has been relying heavily on these businesses to pump money into his campaign. With the death of his wife Lurleen, and his absence from the state house, however, this Wallace money source is quickly drying up. As the **Wall Street Journal** reported last week:

"Albert Brewer, Lurleen's urbane 39-year-old successor, carefully avoids any suggestion of ungraciousness toward his former patrons [the Wallaces]. But Mr. Brewer isn't prepared to tolerate use of the state's purchasing power and patronage to help raise the $15 million to $20 million that Wallace men casually say they'll spend on the presidential race."

Gov. Brewer is apparently trying to change things in a big way, for, as the **Journal** reported, "Alabama's politcal hangovers from the Wallace era are being liquidated in various ways, some of them explosive." One celebrated case (see **Human Events, April 20**) concerns the lawsuit that had been filed in the Federal District Court last April by the **Waugh Asphalt Co.**, charging that it had been "virtually impossible" for years to sell asphalt to the state without slipping money to Wallace agents or contributing to Wallace's gubernatorial and presidential campaigns.

This suit reportedly so enraged Gov. Wallace that he was prepared to publicly accuse the company's president, **Howard Alexander,** of bringing on Lurleen Wallace's death. When Brewer became governor, however, he discussed the situation with Alexander and the suit was dropped with the defense reportedly paying all costs under the terms of the **secret settlement.** "The governor promised me that bidding would be on a strict competitive basis from now on," Alexander explained, and since he dropped the suit, Alexander has received a state asphalt order originally intended for another company.

One indication of George Wallace's heavy reliance on state contacts for campaign funds was his appointment of Alabama Finance Director **Seymore Trammell** as his chief fund-raiser. "That appointment," the **Wall Street Journal** notes, "combined political fund-raising tasks with the state official's control over $30 million to $40 million a year in state purchases. . . ." Moreover, the newspaper writes, "it appears Mr. Trammel made the connection between state purchasing and campaign contributions quite clear and direct."

The **Journal** relates the story of George Moulton, head of a Mobile engineering firm, who was chosen by the Alabama highway commission as a consultant on two road projects. When Wallace mysteriously refused to sign Moulton's contract, the engineer appealed to Finance Director Trammell for an explanation. According to the **Journal** (using Moulton as a source), Moulton was told by Trammell that "the highway work would go to another firm because he **'didn't contribute' enough** to the Wallace campaign."

Consultant Moulton himself described this sequence of events in a signed statement given in 1964 to investigators for the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, but he now denies that Trammell suggested any link between campaign gifts and state business. Trammell refused to discuss the matter with the Federal Bureau of Public Road investigators and declines to let reporters interview him about the matter now.

Another episode related by the **Journal** tells of how Trucker Dempsey Boyd heard that somebody else had made prior arrangements to get the **liquor hauling business** by putting big money into the Wallace campaign. "I thought for sure it was a lie," said Boyd, "but Wallace, himself, said Boyd, had indicated otherwise. Furthermore, says Boyd, a Wallace agent subsequently confided that a Boyd bid had been rejected not as too high but as not high enough.

Boyd's story, moreover, was confirmed by State Auditor Melba Till Allen (elected in 1966), and she declares that Alabama is still paying Boyd's rival $200,000 a year more than necessary. "If I had had more help," Miss Allen declares, "I would have turned this state upside down."

The curious part about all this, says the **Journal,** is that many observers rate the two Wallace regimes as no more dishonest than predecessor administrations, "nor has there been any hint that George Wallace has sought private personal gain.

"The Wallace administration was a **substantial improvement** over the prior three," opines a close associate of Gov. Brewer. "George's fault is this: He wasn't here often enough and he doesn't like to fool around with detail."

CHICAGO

Things never change much in Chicago. Long a center for **ballot box trickery** and coercive electioneering, the Windy City in last week's Illinois primary produced several more election day shenanigans.

The most notable of these occurred on Chicago's west side, where two Republican **election judges** and a GOP **poll watcher** were forced to leave their post after having their lives threatened by persons in and around the polling places they were assigned to. One of the judges was offered police protection if he returned to his post, but he refused, saying his family was also threatened by his staying.

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Democratic Coup?

Why Did LBJ Administration Finally Agree to TV Debates?

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Vice President Humphrey passed word to Senate Democratic leaders the week of May 27: "Lyndon says O. K."

Within hours, the legislative deep freeze had yielded up a controversial measure reposing in its depths for five years. In the space of 15 minutes, the Senate debated and sent to the House a joint resolution permitting the major networks to stage televised debates between the major presidential candidates. Few were present and there was no record vote.

Down in Alabama, former Gov. George C. Wallace smiled discreetly. He may well be the principal beneficiary of the legislation.

House Republicans are beginning to realize that the Johnson Administration has engineered a neat political coup. In coping with it, they are embarrassed by the fact that they are on record as "unequivocally favoring nationally televised debates between future presidential contenders."

It was a solid position to take when Johnson, who had killed the measure in 1964 and could be relied upon to keep it dead, was assumed to be a candidate for re-election. His withdrawal March 31 introduced new factors, the major one being a third-party movement by Wallace which put him on the ballot in more than a dozen states.

Wallace, it now seems evident, will have to be accorded equal time on national television with the Democratic and Republican candidates when the resolution becomes law. An accomplished performer, he can only gain from exposure to an audience of more than 100 million and every gain for Wallace will be a loss for the GOP aspirant.

"The Democrats are giving themselves two chances to win," lamented a Republican House leader. "First, the increased exposure given Wallace will strengthen his chances of capturing at least five Southern states. Second, if the election is thrown into the House, the Republican candidate will be doomed in the deals that will follow."

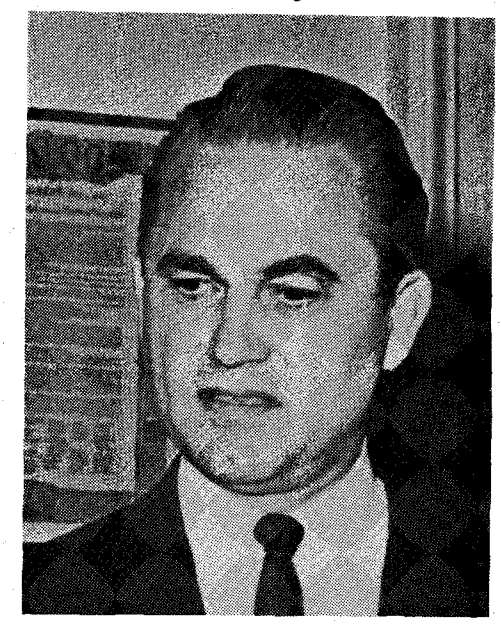
The assumption shared by most Capitol Hill politicians is that Humphrey and Richard M. Nixon will be opponents in the fall campaign. If the Wallace vote is large enough to deny either a majority of electoral votes, the House will select a President with each of the 50 states having one vote.

Southern states won by Wallace could be expected to turn to Humphrey. A state such as Illinois might be captured by Nixon but have no vote because the delegation is evenly divided, 12 to 12. The system has been justifiably denounced, but a constitutional amendment would be required to change it. Time has expired for ratification of such an amendment before the November election.

The resolution, now awaiting action by the House Commerce Committee, suspends the "equal time" requirement for the period between August 31 and the election November 5. Under this law, if free time is given one candidate, the same time must be given all candidates. Rather than allot countless hours to a host of minor party candidates, the networks have denied free time to all.

The Senate, however, did not specify which candidates should be accorded free time. That privilege was accorded to the three networks, NBC, CBS and ABC. They promised, in an informal meeting with Senate leaders, to "call in the principal candidates, talk it over, and reach an agreement."

Sen. John O. Pastore (D.-R.I.) denied a report that agreement has already been reached to include Wallace in "a three-way debate" with the Democratic and Republican standard bearers to be chosen at the August conventions in Miami Beach and Chicago. Despite his denial, it is understood that network chiefs are agreed that Wallace cannot be excluded.



Former Alabama Gov. George Wallace appears to be the chief beneficiary of the Senate-passed suspension of the "equal time" rulings.

The reward is huge—$2 million worth of free time.

Rep. William L. Springer (R.-Ill.), ranking minority member of the House Commerce Committee, pledged a microscopic examination of the measure before it reaches the floor. He had no doubt that the Senate's precipitate action was due to a decision by the President and Humphrey that the Democratic cause would benefit from a three-candidate spectacular on the nation's TV screens.

One conclusion was universal—the White House clearance dissolved any lingering suspicions that the President might get back into the race. He has always been adamant against his own participation in such confrontations.

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NO OVERTIME IN CUBA—"Cuban workers are 'volunteering' to extend their workday from eight hours a day to 12 along guidelines suggested by Fidel Castro's government. There is no pay for the overtime. A Cuban labor official was quoted at a May Day rally as saying: 'The eight-hour workday has become a ridiculous thing.' He called for a 'workday of conscience . . . dictated by revolutionary duty.' The government also demanded greater labor discipline to boost individual and collective production. Havana Radio has announced that 8,000 workers at a cement plant near the city 'voluntarily' switched to 12-hour shifts for the old eight-hour pay."—From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

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'Reason,' Ultimatums, 'Minimum Force'

How Clark Plans to Handle June 19 March

By PAUL SCOTT

Despite the massive damage caused in the Nation's Capital during last April's violent rioting, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark is still insisting on kid glove handling of militant demonstrations in or near federal buildings.

In making preparations for the massive June 19 protest of the "Poor People's" campaign Clark is stressing that government officials should first try to reason with demonstrators to find out what they want before making arrests or clearing them from federal installations.

Instructions now being circulated by the attorney general to heads of all government departments and agencies caution that "care should be taken to deploy building guards and other law enforcement personnel in the least provocative manner" during protests.

Clark's security memorandum, in setting down strict guidelines for making arrests, states:

"If demonstrators attempt to enter, or after entry refuse to depart, or if there is otherwise a threat to government functions or property, the official in charge should talk to the leaders of the demonstration to find out exactly what they want or propose to do.

"If the demonstrators are disorderly or if they will not agree to a voluntary departure from the building, the official in charge should take steps to require their withdrawal.

"The official in charge should determine that sufficient law enforcement personnel are on hand and then inform the demonstrators they must leave the building within some brief period of time or face arrest."

If these methods of peaceful persuasion aren't effective the heads of government departments and agencies can then order the arrest or removal of the demonstrators from their buildings.

But they are cautioned by Clark that "the minimum amount of force necessary to accomplish the purpose should be employed."

In the case of "lie-in situations"—where the protestors lie down in buildings and refuse to leave, the government officials are instructed that the "use of stretchers and wheel chairs can help insure use of minimum force."

If any government official is convinced there are reasons why he can't follow these procedures, the federal official must consult immediately with Clark or the assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Criminal Division.

According to the latest information gathered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, thousands of radical students plan to penetrate and try to seize control of government buildings during the coming massive "Poor People's" demonstration.

Not easily identifiable, white radical students are now moving into the Nation's Capital from all regions to take part in the June 19 protest. Until the students openly join forces with the "Poor People's" protesters, they plan to conceal their presence in the city.

Although not specifically mentioning the students, Clark in his memorandum warned of possible attempts of demonstrators to seize government buildings:

"GSA building guards and other building personnel should be on the alert for attempts by demonstrators to enter and take over government buildings and interfere with government functions.

"Every practical step should be taken to forestall such infiltration. When building guards detect an appreciable number of demonstrators in the vicinity of the building they should permit access only to persons who can show a proper purpose for entry, and, if necessary, they should close entrances as circumstances indicate."

Clark counseled other Cabinet members and agency heads on presenting the government's position to TV, radio and newspaper reporters covering the demonstrations:

"If an appreciable number of demonstrators are in the vicinity of the building or reliably reported en route to the building, the highest-ranking official should

Atty. Gen. Clark, in foreground, listens as one of the participants in the "Poor People's March" accuses him of lacking concern for the poor.

promptly take charge of the situation. He should bring a public information officer to the scene to keep the press fully informed of the government's position."

According to information gathered by government security authorities, if the radicals succeed in their June 19 demonstration here in Washington and there is a serious outbreak of violence, then anarchy and chaos created by militants—with students in the vanguard—will spread across the U.S.

Already, several militant student groups are organizing protests for the June 18-19 period in other cities and are urging followers of the late Sen. Robert Kennedy to join their rallies.

To be prepared for any violence that may come from these demonstrations, all U.S. attorneys across the country have been sent instructions by Fred M. Vinson, assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Criminal Division.

These instructions call for the federal law enforcement officials to "apply the least amount of force that is necessary to protect the persons, the functions and the property for which the federal government is responsible, without unnecessarily curtailing the freedom of expression of demonstrators."

In case violence breaks out, the U.S. attorneys are being instructed to "determine as soon as possible whether state and local police can and will assume responsibility for dealing with demonstrations."

If in their judgment sufficient state and local forces are not available to deal with the violence, they are to let the Justice Department know immediately so that federal troops can be deployed in the area.

The Justice Department's memorandum points out that before the end of the month a riot-control command center at the Defense Department will be in full operation.

It will be headed by Lt. Gen. George R. Mather, who was in charge of deployment of federal forces in Chicago during the violent April civil disturbances and riots.

* * *

Immigration and custom authorities have been alerted that U.S. Negro expatriate Robert Williams is preparing to try to sneak back into the U.S.

A fugitive from federal justice, the pro-Red Williams mysteriously turned up last month in Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of Tanganyika, after living in exile in Cuba and China for the past seven years.

Informants among black militants in Detroit have warned federal authorities that Williams is due to return to that area before July to take over leadership of a new underground movement planning to set up an all-black nation within the U.S.

Guest of the anti-American government of Tanganyika, the 43-year-old Williams has been in contact with Stokely Carmichael, the pro-Castro militant, through the Tanganyika Embassy here in Washington.

Although their secret messages are relayed under the tighest security precautions, it can be accurately reported that the recent exchanges dealt with Williams' proposed return and the growing possibility of violent protests here.

Carmichael, now organizing militant youth gangs in the capital under the eyes of Justice Department officials, has been urging Williams to return for what he describes as "the hot, hot, summer."

Since arriving in Tanganyika, Williams has kept quiet and out of the public eye—unlike his steady stream of anti-U.S. broadcasts from China and Cuba.

The militant Negro's closest companion has been Sheik Abdul Rahman Mohammed Babu, Tanzanian minister of lands, settlement and water development. The two men met while both were in Peking.

Under the new Williams-Babu plan, Negro militants are being encouraged to travel to Tanzania, where they will be trained in guerrilla warfare before returning to America.

Williams, who is wanted on a kidnapping charge, was chosen at a March 31 meeting of Negro militants in Detroit to lead the proposed new black nation.

Milton R. Henry, chairman of the radical Malcolm X Society, in opening the conference read a telegram from Williams as follows:

"You stand under world spotlight in corridors of history. Make the most of it. Through wisdom, unity, perseverance and sacrifice, the seeds of the Detroit convention can mature to black nationhood. Hail the invincible spirit of our emerging black nation."

Conference delegates, numbering about 200, drafted a declaration of independence from the U.S. and a constitution for their separate nation, to be set up in five states of the South.

Under the proposed constitution, a provisional government was picked with Williams as head to serve until Jan. 1, 1970. The document said the new government would "give status to black guerrillas."

Although the Federal Bureau of Investigation has furnished complete details of the conference and its plans to the Justice Department, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark has made no move to prosecute those involved in setting up the illegal government.

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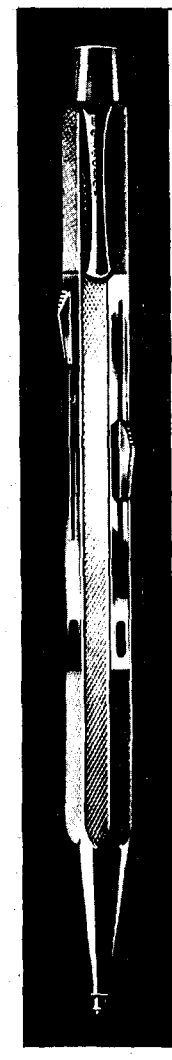

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Is the Czech 'Liberalization' for Real?

Despite the apparent relaxing of Communist terror in Czechoslovakia and Eastern Europe, a closer examination reveals that the West may well be deluding itself

By BRUTUS COSTE and HAL LEHRMAN

"Ominous" Red Army movements "less than 35 miles from the Czech frontier" in southern Poland this May were widely described in the Western press as a Soviet threat to invade a "plucky" satellite and put down a "rebellion."

One piquant fact escaped the foreign correspondents: the massing of Russian troops close to Prague's borders was *not* reported in the Czech press, nor the Polish, nor the Russian. Further, the "rebel" leader of the Czechoslovak Communist party, Alexander Dubcek, knew in advance (through polite notification from Moscow) about the troop movements—and had okayed their location.

How, then, could the rattling of Red armor have been a "threat"—if not even the peoples whom it was supposed to scare and alert were told about it by the only sources they would have believed?

Why, on the other hand, were non-Communist reporters fed buckets of invasion rumors by the same reliable sources? These rumors opened a torrent of anxious dispatches, giving Western readers and listeners further "proof" of Czechoslovak "independence." A subsequent barrage of Western broadcasts toward Czechoslovakia warned the *real* dissidents in that country (the anti-Communists) that they had better cool it.

Could it be that the bogey of invasion was a deliberate Red-inspired leak? Could it be that the rise and fall of the invasion ghost—replaced by normal Warsaw Pact maneuvers—was meant to create the illusion that the Soviets were outraged by Prague's provocations but did not dare to use force?

Could it be that the net result was further digestion by the West of the most thoroughly swallowed myth of our time: that Russia's Europe is falling apart; that Czechoslovakia, like Rumania before her, is jumping with defiance of the USSR; that Moscow, its nose sore from tweaking by the former puppets, is obviously no longer a menace to Western safety; and that, therefore, *nitchevo* to NATO, let the demmocracies' guard be lowered—peace, it's wonderful, and East-West co-existence even better?

In the specific American context, could it be that the intention was to persuade public opinion here that U.S. vigilance against communism has been exaggerated and that a Red take-over anywhere (Viet Nam?) is not a necessary catastrophe for us, since the inevitable conflict of nationalisms irresistibly erodes worldwide Communist unity and compels Moscow (and Peking) to concentrate on mischievous satellites and on intra-bloc wranglings rather than on anti-Western agressions?

It could be.

The suspicion that it is our far-flung correspondents (and our diplomatic observers) whose noses are being tweaked begins to darken when one considers these additional facts:

Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, second from right, meets with Czech leaders at Karlovy Vary, a noted resort. Certainly Kosygin had more on his mind than taking a vacation.

• The Polish "anti-Moscow revolution" of 1956 was *also* hailed by the West as a crucial blow to Kremlin suzerainty over Eastern Europe. Poland's "liberalization" was solemnly and universally described as irreversible, and she was inundated with U.S. credits and other economic help from the West. Why is it that Polish Red boss Wladyslaw Gomulka, the "dissident" chief of that uprising, is Moscow's most blessed disciple today, his regime a model of repression, and Poland the sturdiest Red-ruled link in the satellite chain?

Polish Example

In the international Red hierarchy, Gomulka for years has stood on the immediate right of top Soviet leaders, in the place of honor. Typically, the Budapest Consultative Meeting of the global Communist movement this March was *preceded* by a secret Polish-Soviet tete a tete in January, and the Soviet-sponsored resolution at the March meeting was introduced by the Polish delegate. Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski, early and leading American advocate of all-out economic aid to Poland, nevertheless admitted, four years after the Polish "October of 1956," that Gomulka-ist Poland is a Communist state which is becoming more, and not less, Communist. This direction of change could not be maintained without the presence of the USSR, the interference of which Gomulka rejects. Therein lies the paradox and the inherent weakness of Gomulkaism.

• When Budapest was in flames and Warsaw in revolt in 1956, the Western press obligingly circulated Hungarian-Polish disparagements of "faint-heartedness" in Czechoslovakia and Rumania, which in those days were docile and apathetic. Yet, for that same press, the faint-hearted of yesterday have become the heroes of today—with never a doubt expressed about the validity of this new courage, or any notice taken of the irony and the paradox. Which is not to say that there is no heroism in the current Czech performance, as we shall see. But the superlatives of the Western press in the Polish case throw a shade of doubt on the same superlatives today.

• The current so-called revolution in Czechoslovakia, despite Western ecstasy over it, is thin soup compared to the heady 1956 Polish broth. Warsaw's two solid liberal achievements (on which Gomulka has not yet reneged)—break-up of the collective farms and a live-and-let-live arrangement with the Catholic church—have not even been hinted at yet in the pale Czech imitation. Instead of permission to quit the collectives, the Prague regime has merely promised the peasants more protection *inside* the collectives against exploitation, regimentation and bureaucracy.

As for the Church, there have been only minor concessions in Czechoslovakia. Three ousted bishops have been allowed back to their dioceses; a party-invented Priests' Peace Movement has been dissolved. But the new "liberal" regime has not yet invited the Primate, Jozef Cardinal Beran, to return, and the Czech church is far from the quasi-equality wrested from the Communists in 1956 Poland.

• The two main catalysts of Czechoslovak upheaval—pressure of Slovak nationalism and compulsions to reduce the built-in influences of a Marxist economy—are old-hat issues *inside* the party, not brave new strides toward democratic freedoms. Dubcek, the party's new first secretary and the white hope of Red reform in Prague, is a Slovak. Unlike Antonin Novotny, the former first secretary whose job he took, Dubcek has kept on good terms with the native intelligensia. This elite and its ferment have sparked great hopes in the West. But it is heavily composed of Mayflower (pre-1948 coup) Communists or philosophical leftists—and Dubcek himself, former head of the Slovak party, is a life-long Communist.

The "Grand Design"

His father, a worker, was a founder member of the party in Czechoslovakia. The son, now 46, joined the party at age 18. His advance through the echelons of party power was classic. In 1955 he was rewarded for his promise and his fealty with leadership training at the School for Advanced Politics in Moscow. He returned in 1958 to promotion into the Central Committee. He has been a party secretary since 1960.

• Finally, to believe that the alarums of an open Soviet assault against Prague (*a la* Budapest) were genuine, we would have to believe that Moscow was suddenly tossing into the garbage can a policy which had served world communism's objectives brilliantly ever since John F. Kennedy's brief stand-up to Nikita Khrushchev in 1962 over Cuban missiles. The Reds observed then that, instead of advancing Soviet purposes, the Cuban ploy had goaded the West into closing ranks. This discovery, plus the Sino-Soviet rift and internal Soviet troubles political and economic, produced a new Kremlin policy—a "Grand Design" based on co-existence and phony appeasement.

Danger from France

The aim of this design was to undermine NATO by dulling or eroding altogether the idea that the West was faced with a Communist danger which required immediate response.

The Soviets quit making threats. They blew up and exaggerated their troubles with Red China. They fed Western wishful thinking about the magnitude and meaning of the changes in Eastern Europe. They publicized the new nationalist and liberal postures which West European Communist parties (under orders from the Kremlin) were striking.

In all these ways Moscow was able to divert attention from its steady and colossal drive to get strategic superiority in nuclear arms and increase its advantage in conventional arms. The crumbling structure of NATO is only one proof, among many, of the Grand Design's success to date.

There is some mild possibility that we may be on the brink of this design's modification. If so, the prod will not be Czechoslovakia. The prod will be France.

Charles de Gaulle's blather about third forces between East and West, his avuncular benevolence toward Moscow, Peking and Hanoi, and his waspishness toward Washington and London, were as much due to the USSR's lull-to-sleep and dissolve-NATO opiates as to his own serum of *grandeur*.

Until the May-June troubles, the disciplined French Communists had played possum and given the general no cause to doubt Moscow's disarming amiability. But when the student anarchy triggered the spontaneous strikes which threatened to run wild, the French Communists were forced to move in, and they took over by sheer organizational ability. In turn, this forced de Gaulle to rear up against "totalitarian communism."

If the general succeeds in holding power and continues to expand his new awareness of the Communist menace, it may eventually shoot to pieces the foundations of Moscow's "popular-front" policy aimed at the dissolution of West European unity. In that case—and only then—the Kremlin may show less forbearance toward Eastern European unrest now tolerated because it ties in neatly with Moscow's previous masquerade. Even then, it is doubtful that the Soviets would clamp down on

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Czechoslovakia, where party boss Dubcek is already "banking the fires" of reform.

A close look at the Czech situation suggests that the continually optimistic tidings of "Great Reforms" spring from the almost unanimous commitment of the Western press to the mesmeric doctrine of "Bridges to the East." This credo—born in the Department of State and nursed by Lyndon Johnson—sees "national" communism in Eastern Europe robustly on the march. It stipulates further that additional liberal changes on a Western model will be spurred if only we dispatch economic and moral aid across one-way bridges Eastward to these gallant little "independent" Red regimes.

This Bridges Doctrine has become almost pure religion now in official Washington, in the academic world and in the major media.

It drew its first nourishment from 1949 Yugoslavia; it began to blink and open its eyes after 1956 Poland; it commenced to grow fat after the stirrings of alleged anti-Kremlinism in 1964 Rumania. Since then, Bucharest has registered deafening vocal defiance of Moscow on Western press seismographs.

Though the subject of this piece is not Rumania, it is stimulating to note, after years of Red "liberalism" in Rumania, that there is still less economic reform in that country than even in Maoist Albania. More Rumanian Stalinists remain in power than anywhere else in the de-Stalinized East. Rumanian newspapers are muzzled, critical comment and assembly banned, one-party police rule still evident. There are two European capitals where students have not lately revolted: Moscow—and Bucharest.

Arms Race a Factor

In Czechoslovakia, essentially nothing has been granted to freedom which the Soviets themselves have not long regarded as safe changes. This brand of Kremlin "democracy" dates from the late '50s, after two events: The Russians caught up sufficiently with the United States in nuclear arms to be sure the West would abstain from direct action in support of satellite insurrection; Western passivity when Soviet guns were shelling Budapest proved it.

Thereafter Moscow could afford to accept, or at least condone, corrections designed to reduce internal satellite tensions and make the Red regimes more palatable to their non-Communist subjects. They also have had to make these regimes more palatable to the West, hopefully soothing Western fears of the USSR and stimulating Western help to Eastern Europe, with clear profit in both cases to Mother Russia.

Kremlin Changes Face

Among the changes approved in principle by Moscow were: reduction of terrorism and secret-police repression as no longer necessary and the creation of an *apparent* rule of law; encouraging and exploiting national feelings as a gimmick in support of "national" Communist regimes; more butter (although not less guns).

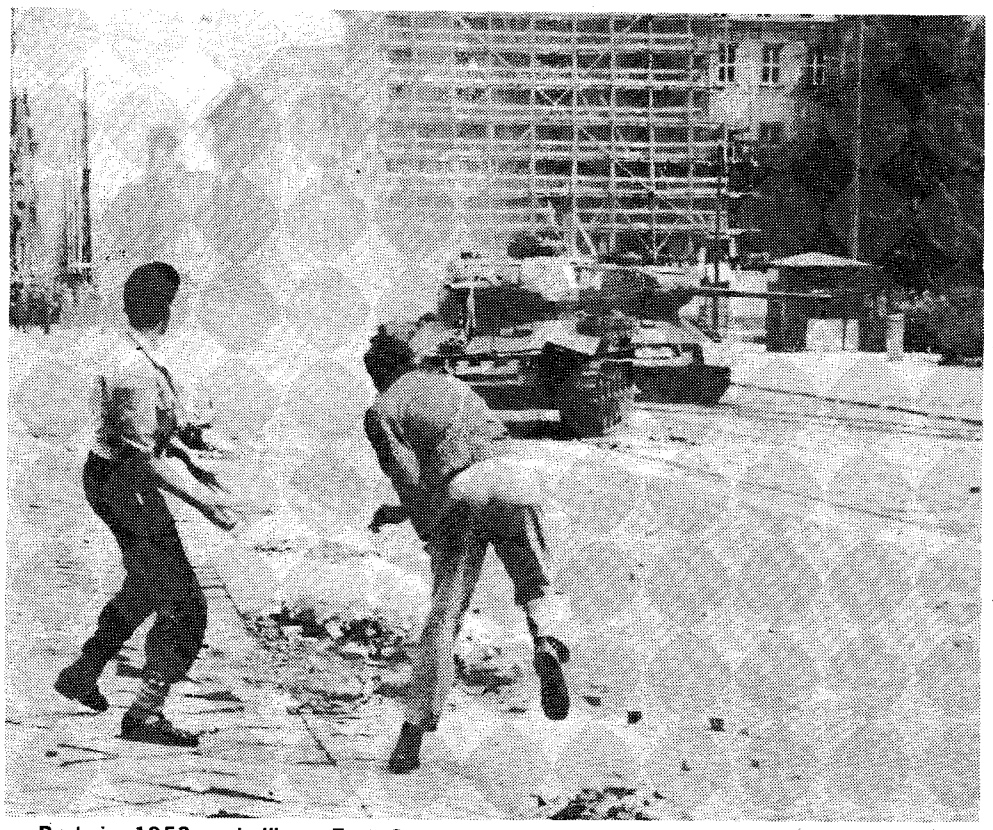
This change of Kremlin face has been reflected in diverse satellite ways. It brought the purge, here and there, of some of the more noxious and discredited Stalinists (in Russia as well as in Eastern Europe). It produced a chorus of satellite lip-service to human freedoms (long before verbalized in the Soviet Constitution). It flattered national sensitivities. (Rumania was suddenly allowed to discover that it was Latin rather than Slav.)

It fostered the happy images of independent "brotherly" Socialist states and talked big about a rise of living standards, especially through development of trade with, and aid from, the West (as a way of procuring the foreign exchange which the satellites and the Kremlin dearly desire).

If there has been anything of special note in the Czechoslovak way of implementing this prospectus, it is the large role which the intellectuals—especially journalists and literati—have played in routing out the Old Guard.

Since 1965 the Czechoslovakian party had been increasingly split between the conservative Novotny faction and the "liberals"—headed by Alexander Dubcek, the Slovak, and Oldrich Cernik, the Czech. Novotny & Co. dragged their feet on Slav-Czech equality and on economic change. The Dubcek-Cernik group was in a hurry in both these departments—and had in its camp the intelligentsia, most of the party rank and file, and younger elements in the general population.

At the start Moscow supported the old Novotny faithfuls as the more familiar (and therefore more reliable) team. But mass backing by the other side raised the danger that Moscow might eventually have to intervene if it wanted to save Novotny. Now the last



Back in 1953, rebellious East Germans electrified the world when they revolted against Soviet rule. Above, two youths take on Russian tanks—with rocks.

Alexander Dubcek, left, a "liberal" Communist, overthrew old-line Stalinist Antonin Novotny in a party coup early this year. The intellectual ferment in Czechoslovakia was supposedly a major factor in the change of command.

thing the Soviets wanted was to crash into Prague as they had crashed into Budapest.

A deal was evidently made: The Kremlin would permit a *native* solution of the party conflict—and the winner would give guarantees of fidelity. This is exactly what appears to have happened.

Events from January (when the party's Central Committee voted Dubcek in and Novotny out as first secretary) to the end of May (when Dubcek felt strong enough to "suspend" Novotny from the Central Committee altogether) show a masterful tightrope walk by Dubcek and friends between conciliation of their mass support and conciliation of their watchful Soviet mentors.

Riding on an anti-Novotny storm blown up at a mid-1967 Writers' Congress and student demonstrations to the same effect, the new leaders promised the nation its heart's desires: a new constitution along federal lines and a new electoral law; assurance of free assembly, association and speech; abolition of censorship and secret-police surveillance; fair pay for "creative intellectual work"; laws to establish "the voluntary co-existence of Czechs and Slovaks on the basis of equal rights"; individual compensation for injustices of the Stalin era; supreme power for the National Assembly; implementation of long-delayed plans for a market economy; lower prices for imports from the Soviet bloc and higher prices for exports to it—and national sovereignty over internal affairs. (At the risk of boring the reader it must again be noted that practically all of this, with regional variations, was an echo of Gomulka's pledges to *his* masses in Poland 12 years earlier.)

Especially enchanted by the new freedom which was visibly cavorting in the once head-shrunken Czechoslovak press, Western observers turned hand springs of their own over the dawn of a wondrous new day.

They systematically magnified every small sign (or officially planted rumor) of alleged tension between Prague and Moscow. Thus during the invasion scare they blew up a sudden ban on travel by foreign diplomats in southern Poland. (The ban was lifted in 24 hours, as soon as the propaganda point had been scored in the trans-Atlantic press.) Further, they dilated a report from "authoritative Prague sources" that a promised delivery of Soviet wheat would be withheld. (This was officially and "angrily" denied in short order by both the Soviet and Czech capitals.) Again, although it had been announced in advance, the arrival for consultation in Prague of the Soviet premier and his defense minister was reported as a "surprise."

On the strength of "informed Moscow sources" a story was floated that the Hungarians had somehow persuaded their bloc allies to "delay" economic and political "sanctions" against Czechoslovakia. There was a season when every consultation, every move of any Red leader across any Red border, was attributed worldwide to the Prague "crisis."

West Being Misled

Meanwhile the Western press was stoutly minimizing a cumulative mass of evidence that the new Communist leaders, like the old, were still Communists and that they were hardly ready to surrender party control or annoy the Kremlin more than was strictly necessary to keep the "independent" myth alive.

Here is just a sampling of what the foreign newsmen downplayed or ignored:

- Dubcek's promise of elections offering "a choice between different candidates" (not different *parties*); his warning to the news media that "members of the Central Committee are worried about press and TV 'one-sidedness.'"
- Frank notice by Party Secretary Cestmir Cisar (a reputed liberal) that editors must exercise "self-censorship" and stop attacking the USSR and delving into "past" political scandals and crimes.
- Education Minister Jiri Hajek's warning that "we must learn the limits of personal freedom."
- Dubcek's anxiety that "anti-Socialist elements should not take advantage of the process of democratization."

Said Dubcek on April 1: "The Communist party continues to be the organized progressive force of our society." Said his new "Action Program" on April 5: "The ideological opponents of socialism may try to misuse the democratization process." Said national Assembly President Jozef Smrkovsky (another great "liberal") on May 15: "Anyone in this country who intends a frontal attack on the Communist party is making a grave error." Said a Presidium communique on May 23, in deploring efforts to form new political parties: "We particularly condemn attempts to renew the Social Democratic party . . . and return to the conditions before February 1948" (when a Communist coup assassinated the democratic republic of Edouard Benes and Jan Masaryk).

As for loyalty to the Kremlin, immediately after ousting Novotny, Dubcek hurried to Moscow and came home advocating (February 1) an even stronger Warsaw Pact and "firm alliance with the Soviet Union."

(*Continued on page 10*)

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Some More Thoughts on 'Collective Guilt'

By MORRIE RYSKIND

We are still shell-shocked by the recent tragedy, and small wonder. One minute Bobby Kennedy was thanking his cheering adherents for the support that had brought him victory in the crucial California primary, and the next he was writhing in agony from a fatal wound. The human mechanism is not geared for such strain, and we sat glazed before the TV set, hardly crediting what we were seeing.

The reporters relaying the news to us were equally dazed. Not long before, with the results still in doubt because of the slow tallying, they had engaged in some good-natured verbal sparring with Bobby, with the senator skillfully parrying their thrusts. They were still chuckling about it—when suddenly the mirth turned to ashes as sorrow filled the air.

It makes no sense that a young man in the prime of life should die because of an alien madman's bullet. But that is the undeniable, bitter fact. And yet—perhaps because it is hard to face the brutal truth—it is human nature to try to find some alternative and lay it to a "plot."

We search desperately for a whipping boy, someone or something on which we can vent our grief. And, if there's none to be found, as a last resort we go in for self-flagellation and put the blame on "society." So it is no surprise when our liberals in the various media—notably TV—indulge in discussions that indict all of us, individually and/or collectively.

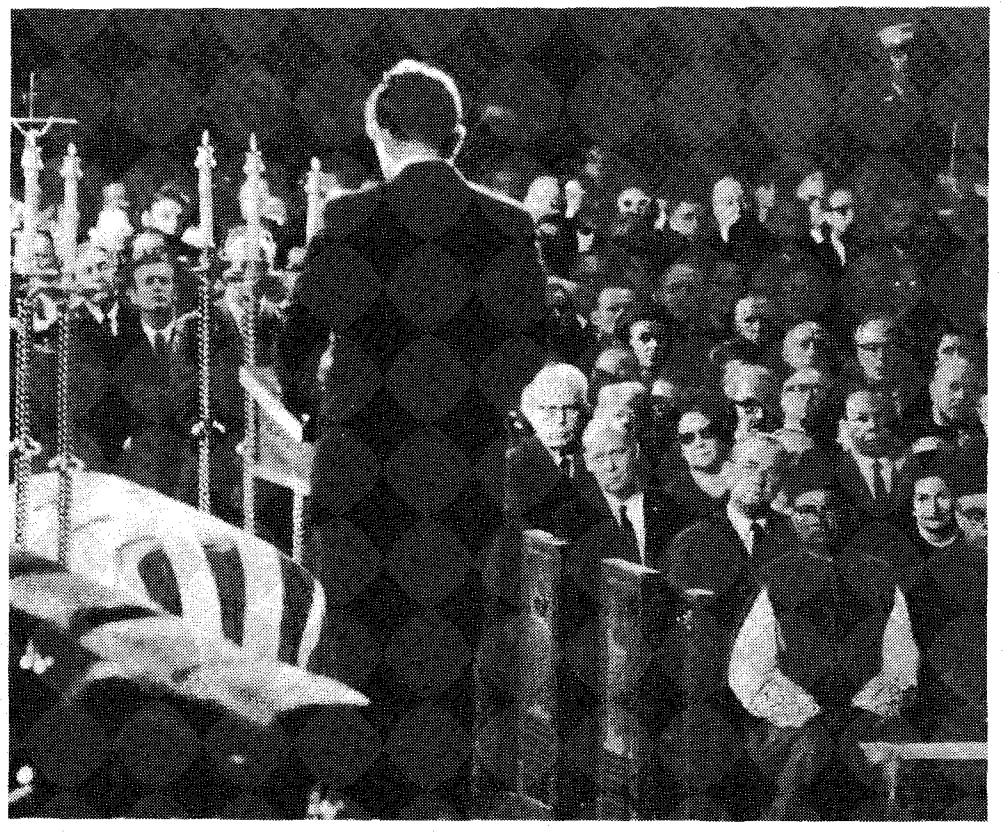
When John Kennedy was slain, the first reaction of his anguished admirers was that it was a right-wing conspiracy hatched by "the hate that envelops Dallas." Even our chief justice, interviewed shortly after the killing, spoke with that assumption obviously in mind.

And a Dallas clergyman, too, testified to the "dreadful climate of hate." He told of a school where the children had cheered the news and been given the rest of the day off to celebrate. The truth turned out to be that the principal, sick at the sad tidings, had called classes off for the day without telling the youngsters why. And, like any kids getting an extra school holiday, the children had cheered. If that minister ever recanted, no TV news recorded it.

Even when the slayer proved to be a lone-wolf Communist, liberal editorials still referred to "hate-drenched Dallas." Which was much as though Buffalo was full of anarchists because Czolgosz slew McKinley there. Or that Washington, D.C.—or the acting profession—was at fault when Booth shot Lincoln.

Likewise, when Dr. King was gunned down by James Earl Ray—now, Heaven be praised, finally caught—all sorts of breast-beating editorials denounced Memphis as a Jim Crow city where no Negro was safe. Yet Memphis had always had an enviable record of interracial amity, and Ray was no more a citizen of it than the self-righteous critics.

So it was no surprise when, shortly after the election night tragedy, a cartoon in our liberal Los Angeles paper depicted the town with a signpost reading "Dallas." By that time, the suspect and his background were known, and yet the innuendo ignored the facts. Ours, too, was a wicked city, full of evil men. If Dallas was Sodom, then Los Angeles was Gomorrah.



Sen. Edward Kennedy eulogizes his slain brother during the services at St. Patrick's Cathederal in New York City. Columnist Ryskind points out the dangers in blaming "society" for the crimes of individuals.

Strangely, it was Los Angeles that had given RFK his victory. But there was one killer among us—so the entire city was condemned.

We may well be grateful that Jehovah is far more merciful than these liberal judges. When the Lord decided to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah, Abraham pleaded, "Wilt Thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked?" and said there might be 50 good men worth saving.

And Jehovah reconsidered and finally agreed to spare the cities if Abraham could come up with even 10 righteous men.

Alas, Abraham couldn't find even that few—so the Lord took his vengeance and rained fire and brimstone down on those cities.

But Los Angeles County gave RFK about 600,000 ballots—so I am confident the Lord will overrule the cartoonist and, in His infinite mercy, spare even those Republican sinners like me who chose Max Rafferty over the sainted Tom Kuchel.

Selah!

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BUSINESS TODAY—A group of students at Princeton University, including Malcolm S. Forbes Jr., son of the publisher of *Forbes* business magazine, has begun publication of a quarterly called *Business Today*. The purpose of the new journal, say the editors, is to present a positive view of American business from a college student standpoint. "We figured that students will listen to other students—that a student-run business magazine would get a better hearing," said one editor.

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GEORGE WALLACE is putting the touch on the 24,500 persons who were named "honorary colonels" on the staff of his late wife, Alabama Gov. Lurleen B. Wallace. In form letters sent to the "colonels" recently, Wallace said it was a "crucial time" in his campaign and urged, "Please help us with any amounts you can afford."

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LBJ WILL CLOSE OUT his presidential career by bringing dozens of foreign leaders here on a "revolving door policy of state visits." The New York *Post* terms it a "new concept in diplomatic hospitality" and says that Johnson has asked the State Department to recommend visits "as frequently and rapidly as possible."

Continued from page 9

Is the Czech 'Liberalization' for Real?

He assured *Pravda* (May 8) that the new Prague leadership would not allow anti-Communist elements to gain influence. He let the cat entirely out of the bag on May 10: "We want to play our role in making socialism more appealing to the whole world." On May 22 new President Ludvik Svoboda, once purged by the Stalinists, solemnly proclaimed that "we must guard friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union as the apple of our eye."

Small wonder that USSR President Nikolai Podgorny, on receiving the credentials of the new Prague regime's ambassador, expressed confidence that mutual interests would insure cooperation between their two states—and he wished Prague success "in its struggle against the scheming of circles hostile to progress and socialism."

If Soviet tanks continue to stay out of Prague it will be for the same reason they stayed out of Warsaw in 1956. Gomulka persuaded Khrushchev against the use of force. Khrushchev believed Gomulka's protestations of Communist loyalty and his assurances that the "liberal reforms" would strengthen, not weaken, the position of the party (and of the USSR) in Poland. The Kremlin now knows that Gomulka and Khrushchev were right.

Dubcek today is playing the same gambit with the same persuasiveness for the same good reasons. His real problem has not been the Soviets but the ebullient intellectual and popular pressures which brought down Novotny, carried Dubcek into power and, naturally, have been expecting full delivery on the new leader's large promises.

In this the hobgoblin of imminent invasion—conjured up by Red psychological warriors and happily transported to the four winds by foreign newsmen—aided Dubcek in the same way it once aided Gomulka. The hint of Soviet military intervention promptly made native moderation an act of patriotism. Repeated proclamations of fealty to the Moscow alliance thus miraculously seemed to be, not a sell-out, but statesmanship insuring the life and the limb of all good Soldiers Schweik.

All this being understood, there is nevertheless still hope for authentic (though limited) democratic progress in Czechoslovakia.

Underlying the pseudo-liberalism of the regime one detects the presence of a hard-nosed demand for action instead of tokens. Witness the meeting of 5,000 members of KAN, a "non-party club," which cheered the Kafkaesque recommendation that, in the new Czech "orchestra, we want to hear not only the drum but all the other instruments." Or the placards in a recent Prague street demonstration: "With the Soviet Union Forever—But Not a Day Longer"; "Long Live the Soviet Union—But At Its Own Expense."

Unless the Russians abandon their hitherto successful mild-as-milk posture toward Western Europe, these genuinely progressive elements will not be dispersed by brute Soviet force. The sinister obstacle to democratic hopes for Czechoslovakia resides in official Western innocence, of which already one sees distressing signs.

With highest Soviet approval the Prague regime—like Bucharest earlier—has begun angling hopefully for Western capital investments, U.S. credits, know-how and trade facilities. The State Department has begun to bite gingerly at the bait; we have invited Czechoslovakia to negotiate all mutual problems; we are watching with "interest and sympathy" Prague's rapid evolution toward a liberalized society.

We did the same for Tito's Yugoslavia. After a U.S. investment of some $3 billion in Belgrade's "liberalized society," the Communist party is still in total control there, and the Yugoslav "market economy" enjoys about as much individual initiative as a military parade.

Aid to Czechoslovakia would benefit only the Communist regime, by giving it prestige and stability. It would strengthen the Stalinist diehards still surviving in positions of influence.

They have consistently opposed general economic reform on the correct assumption that such reform would ultimately shrink and collapse their power. U.S. credits to extricate the regime from the muddle of Marxist economics would only postpone reform; meanwhile, the morale of the true dissenters would have no place to go except out.

Washington might well ponder the view of Czechoslovakia's bravest intellectual, Prof. Ivan Svitak, who said this April (four months after Dubcek's rise): "The Stalinist cult has been destroyed, but the whole Stalinist apparatus remains. We must liquidate it or it will liquidate us."

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How the Defense May Argue Sirhan Case

By FREDERIC NELSON

Sirhan Sirhan shot Sen. Robert Kennedy in full view of some scores of onlookers. He was immediately seized and his pistol wrested from him. There were witnesses on all sides; it would look like an air-tight case for the prosecution if ever there was one.

Nevertheless, before the murderer had been booked doubts began to be expressed about the possibility of convicting him. Chief of Police Redden, pressed by interviewers to relate what Sirhan had said when questioned, expressed the opinion that it might be better for the case if the accused didn't say too much. Could Mr. Reddin have feared that Sirhan might confess and for that reason be turned loose by the Warren Court?

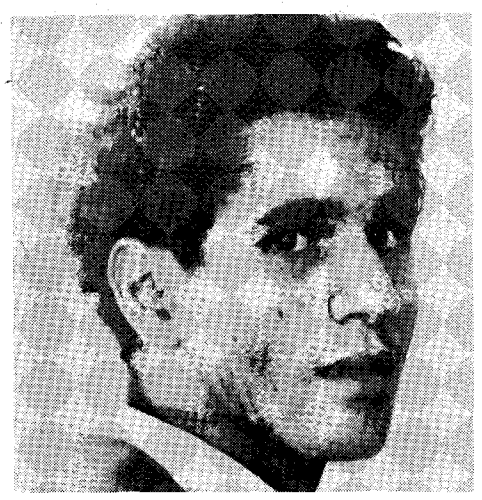
The next alarm rose after Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles revealed that notebooks found in Sirhan's apartment indicated an intention to murder Sen. Kennedy "before June 5." The mayor's statement raised a fearful row.

Didn't he know that premature revelation of evidence might make a conviction impossible? Did the police have a warrant specifically mentioning a notebook when they invaded Sirhan's apartment? Criminals have been released on account of far less serious denials of their "civil rights" than this!

Then there is the matter of the time Sirhan was in police custody before a presentation before a magistrate. Probably the police took care to do this as promptly as they could, but was the man held for longer than the "reasonable" time prescribed in the Mallory case? We can be sure his defense will go into that possibility *in extenso.*

Finally, or maybe these are only preliminary possibilities, there remains the chance that a juror who doesn't believe in hanging murderers will be left on the panel, because, according to the Supreme Court's most recent ukase, the prosecution may not make opposition to capital punishment a ground for challenging a prospective juror. Therefore it will be safer not to ask the question at all, but rely on what information the D.A.'s staff can pick up around the neighborhood.

Looking at the whole package, it wouldn't seem impossible that a man who shot a public official in a crowded room and was apprehended with the gun in his hand had a pretty fair chance of



Will Sirhan Sirhan be freed on technicalities resulting from Supreme Court rulings?

beating the rap, gaining, as you might say, a technical knockout.

Incidentally, during the few days when all this was going on, and while these doubts were being raised, the New York *Times*, which printed the news, also printed editorials denouncing the House for including in its anti-crime bill a title which attempted to overrule the Supreme Court's elimination of confessions as evidence in capital cases!

It is fascinating to speculate on the feelings of the Times editorial writers had Sirhan, not giving the cops time to assure him that he had a right to clam up, confessed at the top of his lungs and thus presumably beat the case despite the evidence of a "cloud of witnesses around holding him in survey," as the old hymn puts it.

In an earlier editorial on the subject, the *Times* said: "The fact is that the real 'enemy' of the most crucial section of the bill, Title II, is not the criminal but the United States Supreme Court. It is the 'Warren Court' that is really under attack." Well, sure, but it could happen that circumstances may arise (perhaps in the trial of Sirhan) which will make it clear to everybody that even an "attack on the Warren Court" is not evidence of mere reactionary spite but grows out of the court's obsessive concern for "rights" of criminals as conceived by some rather imaginative jurists.

Will Ted Kennedy Pick Up Torch?

By VICTOR LASKY

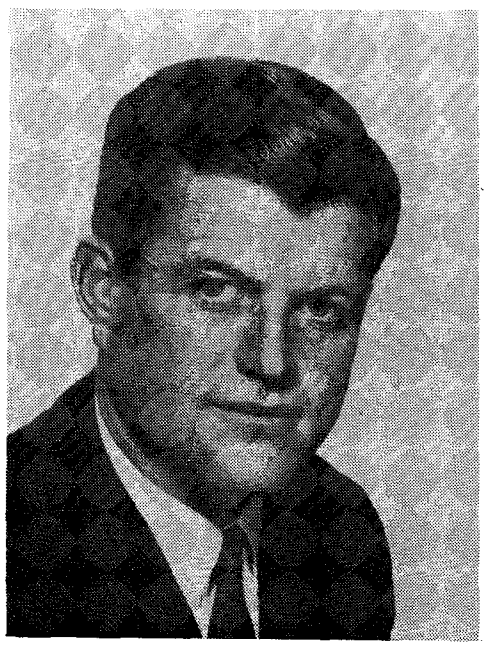
A decade ago, the late John F. Kennedy put it this way: If anything should happen to him (JFK), his brother Robert would take over; and if anything should happen to Robert, it would be up to their younger brother, Teddy, to carry on.

So now the Kennedy torch has been passed on to Teddy.

And already there is speculation that Sen. Edward Moore Kennedy of Massachusetts is under consideration for the No. 2 spot on the Democratic ticket headed by Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

A Humphrey-Kennedy ticket would make considerable sense. It would help bind the wounds that have afflicted the Democratic party in recent years. And in some measure, it would help assuage the heart-felt grief of Kennedy supporters over the untimely death of their leader.

Moreover, a Humphrey-Kennedy combine would be a tough one for the Republicans to beat. Some top Republicans believe that many people would vote for the Democrats "to make it up to the Kennedys" on their great loss.



Some Kennedy friends are pushing brother Ted for the No. 2 spot on this year's Democratic ticket.

Ted Kennedy has many appealing characteristics. He does not arouse antagonism the way his late brother did. He is very popular among his Senate colleagues. He has worked hard on legislation and even those senators who don't agree with him will concede that he has learned a lot since he entered their ranks in 1963 at the age of 30.

Even the Southerners like him. Though he is just as strong for civil rights as was Bobby, he manages to fight for his ideas without stirring up the combat juices of his Senate opponents.

But would Ted Kennedy accept the No. 2 spot with Humphrey?

There is some talk that in view of the tragedies that have befallen his two brothers, he may decide to forego the opportunity. On the other hand, the Kennedys have always sought the top spot. And eight years as vice president may well bring Ted into line for the presidency.

Meanwhile, Nelson Rockefeller is faced with the problem of naming a successor to Bobby Kennedy in the Senate. According to reliable sources, the New York governor has not yet decided. For one thing, there are not many top people available for the crucial post at this important time in the nation's history.

Some powerful Republicans have suggested to Rockefeller that he name former Sen. Kenneth B. Keating to the post he lost to Bob Kennedy in 1964, with the understanding that he quit in 1970 to permit some younger man—Mayor John Lindsay—to compete.

Keating is now on the New York State Court of Appeals.

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"The Otto Otepka Story"

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French Move to Left Could Happen in America

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

President de Gaulle's warning to French voters that on June 23 they will have to choose between more Gaullism and a Communist revolution should give pause to all democratic Americans.

For to the extent it is urgent (opinions differ), the Communist threat in France is overwhelmingly the work of the general himself.

When the French people thrust power upon de Gaulle, the French Communist party was discredited and in decline. Moreover, the general had promised his backers that he would "break the back" of what was left of the party.

Yet shortly after becoming president he repudiated the military side of NATO and turned to the Soviet Union as a means of escaping "American hegemony."

This was not entirely new. As early as Christmas 1945 de Gaulle had sought Stalin's backing as a counterweight to "Anglo-Saxon" pressure—with no success.

During part of his "exile" at Colombey, he was in close touch with the Soviet ambassador in Paris, Sergei Vinogradov. For the general the Soviet Union was simply Russia in a new garb. In his mind, "ideologies" come and go, but nations remain.

Therefore, he had no hesitancy in trying to link France more or less permanently with the government chiefly committed to the suppression of freedom and democracy everywhere in the name of totalitarian socialism.

By so doing, he rescued the French Communist party from its decline. By making it respectable, he gave it a new lease of life. This Moscow, always on the job, was quick to recognize and the word went out that the French party leadership was under no circumstance to appeal to violence but to pass itself off so far as possible as a "normal" French political party seeking to come to power by purely democratic means.

Sure enough, millions of French bourgeois accepted the "change" as genuine and leftist opponents of de Gaulle cooperated with Communists in seeking what, if they had won an election, would have been a "popular front" government of the kind almost uniformly destined, at the appropriate moment, to be taken over by the Communist participants.

Communism became the second strongest political party in France. Yet far from alarming President de Gaulle,

Rioting Frenchmen scatter copies of the newspaper France-Soir during the renewed turmoil in Paris.

this enabled him to win the latest election to the National Assembly with the slogan: choose between de Gaulle and communism!

This same challenge he has thrown at the French voters in the coming election. But with a difference: previously Communists in France were no real danger. But should French voters on June 23 choose some sort of veiled Communist rule, it will be a catastrophe.

What has this to do with us Americans? Plenty.

Since about 1959 successive U.S. administrations have been seeking cooperative agreements with Moscow and at the same time the Supreme Court and domestic liberals have at home done what they could to remove the stigma from the U.S. Communist party. To some extent, the results resemble those in France.

It is no accident that "Black Power" advocates and student leaders like Mark Rudd seek guidance from Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara and Castro. Or that the U.S. Communist party, in its 1966 program, outlined its plans for achieving power "democratically" through a new political party to be built around Negro rebels, the New Left, enraged pacifists and miscellaneous malcontents.

But with one important difference: American labor is still overwhelmingly anti-Communist and can be counted on to oppose any sort of student or other Red movements. This certainly provides a margin of safety.

But should Washington accomplish its purpose of making the United States a permanent partner of the Soviet Union, we can expect the pro-Moscow, pro-Peking, pro-Castro, pro-Ho movement among students, professors and embittered liberals to swell to dangerous proportions—in the name of peace, of course.

So isn't it about time for the realists in both political parties to reverse the "French type" trend in the United States before it is too late?

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Senator McGee Hears from Viet Nam

From the Wyoming *State Tribune*

(Following is a letter written by a Wyoming physician serving his second tour of duty under the American Medical Association's Volunteer Physicians in Viet Nam Program. The author is Dr. L. B. Morgan, an opthalmologist of Torrington, Wyo. The addressee is Sen. Gale McGee. The letter was written April 25, from Vinh Long, Viet Nam, to McGee in Washington.)

Dear Senator:

Today has been a real bad day for me here in the Mekong Delta. At 0700 your voice came over the Armed Forces Radio saying we must accept Red China in the future planning in Asia. Since I am the only Wyomingite here, I took considerable abuse all day long.

The fighting men here want to know if you are willing to forget the sacrifices of the thousands of men in Korea and in Viet Nam who have fought against men trained by the Communist Chinese. They wish you could see the Vietnamese officer beheaded in the presence of his family by the Viet Cong, or some of the women in the jungle villages, strung up by their heels, for people who oppose Red China communism.

When I tell them you are a professor of history, they ask, "Hasn't he heard of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, the appeasement of Hitler in the 1930s, the delivery of millions of innocent people to the Communists after World War II? Did he approve the dismissal of Gen. Mac Arthur? Does he accept the capture of the *Pueblo* and the surrender of her crew to rot in North Korean Communist jails?

Being just an ordinary citizen of Wyoming and a great believer in the United States, I don't know how to answer them. These men face death every day, while you debate the "greater issues of the day." I hope your conscience is clear—mine is not.

We allow the world's heavyweight champion boxer to laugh at our draft laws, we allow Adam Clayton Powell to thumb his nose at the United States House of Representatives, we authorize and finance American trade with Communist countries, and even guarantee payment if the Communists don't see fit to pay.

I will soon be back in Torrington, Wyo., in the state and country I love. Would you please take time to write me and explain about Red China in the future of Asia? I want to relay your message, so please use simple terms that we can understand. Most of these guys didn't know you could parade, burn your draft card, or break out store windows, and thus avoid coming over here. Some of them really think they are doing more good fighting over here than sitting at home drinking beer and watching television.

They do understand that you better stick your head in the mud when the Viet Cong fire at you with their much-superior, Russian-made AK-47 rifle. When I was here last year our government sent over 24,000 M-15 rifles to Singapore. I had a hard time explaining that, too. Most of them had M-1 carbines (WW II) then and couldn't get the M-16s that you government people decided to send elsewhere.

Of course, I realize these devoted servicemen over here really don't have any great political power anyway, so maybe they don't need to understand. Besides, a lot of them will be dead, and by the time the rest return the power of the government will be so great, you can just go ahead and do as you like without consulting them.

I am sorry to have taken so much of your time, Senator. It is now 0400 26 April, so it has taken some of mine, too. If the artillery will let up a few minutes, I'd like to get some sleep. I have a big day ahead of me tomorrow. I am going out to a district town to examine eyes of about 60 people and send those who need operating back here to Vinh Long. We are trying to make them see better, although I am not sure they'll understand what they see after surgery.

Please—no news releases today. I want to be able to enjoy the company of these wonderful fighting GIs.

This was the scene in the Cholon section of Saigon after the Viet Cong attacks.

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GNOMES—"Dick Walker, of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), says when Administration spokesmen speak on college platforms, students should drown them out by 'snapping the fingers of both hands. This produces an insane effect of thousands of gnomes applauding.' Intellectual gnomes, no doubt."—From the Birmingham (Ala.) *News*

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What Client for George Ball?

U.N. ambassador pleads East-West trade cause

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

George Ball, our ambassador to the United Nations, is at it again.

He was on Capitol Hill the other day pleading a case for foreigners, this time for European Communists who wish to purchase American machinery.

Pleading a case for foreigners may seem an incongruous activity for an American official. George Ball, the amiable and frost-headed persuader, has made it his professional occupation, both in private and public life.

When President Kennedy in 1961 appointed him under secretary of state for economic affairs, a post that pertains largely to European financial matters, I checked with the Justice Department to see if Ball was registered as an agent-lobbyist for foreign powers.

Sure enough, his law firm was duly on record as counsel for the six European nations which make up the Common Market. I also telephoned the firm

George Ball, recently appointed U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., continues to favor East-West trade; he backed the first wheat deal with Russia.

of Cleary, Gottleib, Steen and Hamilton to inquire what was thought there of their ex-associate's moving to the State Department. Wouldn't Ball be continuing the same work as before? Serving the same clients? Trying to get favors out of the U.S. government for the Common Market and other foreign countries? The law-firm spokesman was very grieved by the tenor of my questions, and hoped I wouldn't write in that vein.

At the State Department, Ball soon was assigned additional duties. He became U.S. alternate governor of the International Monetary Fund and also of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development and also of the Inter-American Development Bank. During one of his tours as a private citizen, Ball also served as chairman of Lehman Brothers International, Limited. There isn't any way to wiggle around the fact that no matter where this man has his hat, he's trying to help foreigners to get American money and credits.

U.N. Ambassador Ball was doing just that in his recent appearance before a Senate Banking and Currency subcommittee. He had come down from New York to endorse Sen. Res. 169, a measure to express the sense of Congress in favor of trade with the Soviet Union and the Soviet satellites of Eastern Europe.

In the course of his testimony Ball betrayed himself with the Freudian statement that many foreigners considered Americans to be "touched in the head" on matters of foreign trade policy. From the context of his remarks, Ball secretly concurred in this low opinion of his countrymen.

It happens that the American people have always been reluctant to feed the Soviet economy. A few years ago Ball engineered the wheat deal that sent grain to Russia. Now, he wanted to nourish the USSR and its bloc with American vehicles and computers, in the name of building bridges of friendship to European communism.

There are arguments on both sides of the question, but it was bothersome to wonder whether George Ball was looking at it from the viewpoint of American interests. He had associated himself with that disparaging remark against the U.S.A., his ostensible client. He made it clear to the senators and the press that he considered himself (Iowa-born and Illinois-raised) to have risen above those one-time isolationist sources.

To a certain reporter, Ball sounded as if he has changed one kind of parochialism for another. He had shaken off the dust of the American midlands, but he had taken on the provincialism of a little corner of the country where internationalism is the dogma in business and politics.

George Ball, long time pleader for foreign clients, didn't seem quite plausible as he told the senators what was good for the U.S.A. to do about East-West trade. In fact, he looked like one of the reasons why America has lost its top position as a world power. Nobody likes to go into court with a lawyer who owes much to the other side. No country stays on top by having diplomats and ambassadors who half believe they are serving a balmy and inferior nation.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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A SLIGHT ERROR—"As a good many commentators have pointed out, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller made few points in his first major speech as a non-candidate for the presidency. Addressing the annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Rockefeller urged the states and the federal government to boost their annual spending on urban problems to $20 billion a year. And he suggested a massive $150-billion authorization of federal funds for rebuilding the cities of the nation. There was no applause for the speech while it was being delivered, and only a perfunctory round after the talk was over. Nearly everyone present agreed that the first of the Rockefeller position papers had not fallen on receptive ears. Perhaps the best commentary on the speech was a notice put up in the press room of the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, where the speech was delivered. It ran: 'CORRECTION. Page 2 of Governor Rockefeller's prepared text: Please make it read in third line of ninth paragraph: $800 billion not $800 million.' There's something a little frightening about a speech that gets billions mixed up with millions."—From the Arizona *Republic*

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STUDENT SUBVERSION by Alice Widener (Calumet Publishing Co., 9122 South Baltimore St., Chicago, Ill. 60617. 75 pages, $1 postpaid. Order directly from publisher.)

"Student revolts in universities throughout the country lately have captured newspaper headlines. But the final goal of campus revolutionaries and their fellow-travelling faculty advisers is far more sinister than the average reader of the daily press . . . might suspect. Who and what lie behind the current upheavals is the subject of a first-hand report entitled **Student Subversion**, by Alice Widener. . . .

"This document contains the early warning signals flashed by Mrs. Widener in "U.S.A." magazine . . . for the first time, however, **Student Subversion** compiles the full three-year record of the Marxist student and faculty movement in the United States.

"Her on-the-spot reporting of the annual Socialist Scholars Conferences (held in September 1965, 1966 and 1967), which spawned the ideas underlying the rebellions, and, most particularly, her coverage of a sub-cellar meeting of Students for a Democratic Society at New York University last February will make any devotee of cloak-and-dagger stories wish he were reading fiction instead of fact.

"Ironically, Columbia University's very own McMillin Theatre was the scene of the first annual Socialist Scholars Conference in 1965 when Mrs. Widener's documentary begins. Had Dr. Grayson Kirk been at this first meeting when the revolutionary script was being put together, one wonders if the ugly drama on Broadway and 116th Street this spring would ever have been staged.

"Hopefully, **Student Subversion** will be widely read by thoughtful Americans eager to foreclose on the ugly prospect of civil war."—From **Barron's** National Business and Financial Weekly

AMERICA IS IN DANGER by Gen. Curtis E. LeMay (Funk & Wagnalls, 346 pages, $5.95)

" . . . Free at last to speak out, the general has let off a monumental head of steam. The dour, glowering, hawkish architect of SAC, the Berlin Airlift, NATO and other brilliant bits and pieces of American history has chosen as his special targets the 'defense intellectuals' of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, and specifically former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, whom he characterizes as an arch-bungler who may well have set the stage for the ultimate surrender of the United States in a final confrontation with the Soviet Union. . . .

"From the coign of the Joint Chiefs of Staff he informs us in simple terms that we have lost the so-called arms race; that we are far behind the Russians in nuclear strategic superiority, in total megaton yield of warheads, and in numbers of strategic bombers. We have no space weaponry at all. Our manned air force has been allowed to diminish and deteriorate. We have no adequate anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defense system. We are exposed to a devasting first strike by an enemy because of an unrealistic and vacillating deterrent defense philosophy which allows for no alternative in case our initial retaliatory attempt fails. LeMay attributes this to the designs of Defense personnel without military knowledge, chosen because of prominence in other fields. . . .

"LeMay's opinions are not all critical, and he offers some positive suggestions relative to United States defense organization and employment. He feels that our defense posture should be revised to include a well-deployed continental ABM system, a strengthened air defense system with improved manned interceptors backed by new advanced manned strategic aircraft (AMSAs). . . .

"In Viet Nam he would shift the emphasis from ground forces to air and sea forces, and progressively bomb petroleum facilities, electrical power generators, factories, irrigation systems, transportation centers and, above all, the harbor at Haiphong, through which 70 per cent of the total war supplies enter North Viet Nam. If this did not result in a prompt suit for peace, it would, he believes, cause the Ho Chi Minh government to fall, with consequent cessation of troop and supply support of the Viet Cong irregulars. . . ."—By Arthur Prager in **Saturday Review**

THE IMAGE CANDIDATES—American Politics in the Age of Television by Gene Wyckoff (Macmillan, 274 pages, $6.95)

". . . Wyckoff is a saucy writer who takes the position that television is a great medium for displaying a candidate's character, especially if trickery is needed. In the 1960 campaign, for example, Wyckoff discovered that Henry Cabot Lodge would pose problems. 'He looked like what you would expect an American statesman to look like,' writes Wyckoff. 'But when he opened his mouth and when he interacted with people on television, there was something not so attractive—something in his demeanor, a touch of hauteur, arrogance, aloofness, or condescension perhaps. His characterization did not ring true.'

"What Wyckoff apparently means—or at least what many who know Lodge would assume he means—is that Lodge's character rang too true. . . .

"So long as Wyckoff sticks to this kind of insider's explanation of what grabs the TV-watcher and what doesn't, of ploy and counterploy, or of how he used parts of B-grade movies to hoke up a film depicting Nixon as 'Ambassador of Friendship' (cancelled by the candidate), there is a fascinating Machiavellian swagger to the book. Wyckoff is convinced that the average TV-watcher would elect Gregory Peck President 'on the basis of "To Kill a Mockingbird" alone,' and he is endowed with the medicine-show performer's willingness to speak to the crowd at any level, so long as it results in the sale of political liniment. When he is explaining the techniques of his spiel, he is well worth listening to. . . ."—By Robert Sherrill in the New York Times **Book Review**

THE RISE OF RONALD REAGAN: A Political Biography by William Boyarsky (Random, 269 pages, $5.95)

"A lively report on Gov. Reagan's life and California political career and administration, by a reporter who traveled with Reagan on the campaign trail. The book's tone is objective but, in balance, the impression of Reagan is unfavorable, not just for his specific policies but for his seeming lack of intellectual spark, his isolation from ordinary contacts (partly because of his security-guard obsession) and his failure to do his homework on some state issues. Almost certainly this is a biography which will not please Reagan supporters, but it is not mudslinging."—From **Publisher's Weekly**

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'Freedom of Choice' Rejected

Schools and the High Court

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Fourteen years after its landmark decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education,* the U.S. Supreme Court is still unanimous when it comes to issues of school integration. Two weeks ago the court spoke with unanimity once more in virtually rejecting the principle of "freedom of choice."

The phenomenon ought to be marked. Of the nine judges who spoke with one voice in May 1954, only three remain—Warren, Black and Douglas. Two of them—Reed and Clark—have retired. Four have died. The intervening years have seen a string of replacements—Harlan, Whittaker, Stewart, White, Goldberg, Fortas, Marshall. Yet the unanimity remains. If memory serves, not a single dissenting vote ever has been cast in a decision dealing directly with segregated schools.

It is hard to challenge that record. Yet, with respect, some of us who have followed these cases through the years will continue to believe that in one field of law, the court has been unanimously wrong all the time.

This is not to rehash the old issues of constitutional law. It is a large assumption that the 14th Amendment ever was validly ratified; but assume it. The polestar of constitutional construction, as Mr. Justice Black so recently and so piously observed, is the intention of the Framers. In this field, the evidence is overwhelming that the Framers of the 14th Amendment never dreamed their handiwork would be construed as the court has construed it. Put that to one side as well.

Does the court, as Justice Black indicated, really look to the intentions of the Framers of the 14th Amendment?

The law that is violated by the court's rulings, and especially by the recent ruling, is a different kind of law—a law of human nature. When it comes to ordinary law, the high court can make its writ run effectively. In matters of tax law, labor law, criminal law, no question about it: The court can work its will. But when the court undertakes to coerce human beings into patterns of social behavior that are unacceptable to them, the court is impotent. Fourteen years after Brown, fewer than 15 per cent of Southern Negro children are in integrated schools.

The issue involved the public schools of New Kent County, Va. There are not but two schools in this small rural county—the New Kent School on the eastern side, the Watkins School on the west. The total school population, in all grades, amounts to only 1,290 pupils —740 Negro, 550 white.

These are not city-type children. The county seat of New Kent is barely 35 miles from downtown Richmond, but it might be 35 light-years away. New Kent's people, most of them, have been there forever. The 1960 census found only 58 foreign born residents in the entire county. Ninety-nine per cent of the people are native-born. There is no industry to speak of. Most of the residents, white and black alike, live as they have lived for generations, quietly on their land.

Three years ago, bowing to the new ordinations, New Kent officials instituted a plan of freedom of choice. All the white children had been going to New Kent School, all the Negro children to Watkins. Henceforth they were free to choose. In three years, not a single white child has chosen to go to Watkins; only 115 Negro children last year chose to enroll at New Kent.

To the Supreme Court, the figures proved but one thing: "Freedom of choice" is a sham, a mere device by which the county maintains a dual system of schools. No such freedom is allowed. The court's Draconian suggestion was to draw an arbitrary line north and south across the county. All those on the east would be compelled to go to New Kent, all those on the west to Watkins. Next case.

Is it so simple, really, to order the lives of human beings? The court's simplistic demand is that New Kent "convert promptly to a system without a 'white' school and a 'Negro' school, but just schools." Splendid! God, the high court and the Constitution look at New Kent County and do not see black people and white people, but "just people." Admirable.

Alas, this is not what the black people and white people of New Kent perceive. They see themselves as they are; and the great bulk of them want to spend their formative years with their own kind. There is no hatred in this, and no vicious sense of white supremacy. It is the way it is. "Judgment reversed!" says the court. But the court, in its own omnipotent fashion, might as well undertake to reverse the orbit of the earth around the sun.

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Why Mayor Yorty Bared Sirhan's Pro-Communism

By WILLIAM LOEB, *Publisher,* Manchester (N.H.) *Union Leader*

Manchester, N.H.—Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles, in an exclusive telephone interview with this reporter, said it is important for the American people to realize that the alleged assassin of Robert Kennedy is a man "dedicated to the cause of communism."

Yorty said that in the diary entries of Sirhan Sirhan, which the mayor personally scrutinized, this dedication to communism "was the dominant theme."

Mayor Yorty has been criticized for earlier statements attributed to him about the diaries on the ground they might prejudice Sirhan's trial. However, he told me he feels it is his duty to alert the country to the fact that—just as Lee Harvey Oswald was a Marxist who had rejected the United States and sought asylum in Russia—so was Sirhan Sirhan a devoted disciple of the Communist ideology.

Oswald was the assassin who killed the late President John F. Kennedy. Thus in both Kennedy slayings the assassin was motivated by strong feelings in favor of communism, Yorty asserted, and he feels this has a significance which should not go unremarked by the American people.

Sirhan is not even a U.S. citizen, the mayor pointed out, and yet "foolishly, some critics are trying to accuse the entire American people of guilt in these terrible crimes commited by men who repudiated the American system. Yorty said the Sirhan diaries make plain that the gunman's deed was prompted far more by his Communist sympathies than by his anti-Israelite or anti-Semitic feelings.

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NATIONAL DEBT— The total debt of all Americans, from Uncle Sam to the man in the street, has soared over $1.6 trillion, or $8,000 for every man, woman and child in the nation. The biggest category is corporate debt, which totals $641 billion. The federal debt stands at $371.6 billion. Individuals are $331.4 billion in hock and state and local government $113.4 billion in debt.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Curb Lawless Trend

By SEN. FRANK LAUSCHE (D.-Ohio)

Our country is in a tragic plight. We do not know the source of our weakness or why, in the eyes of our own people and in the eyes of the people of the rest of the world, shame, in a measure, has fallen upon us.

In my judgment, if the problem is to be remedied, it will have to be through a coordination and a consolidation of efforts on the part of the people in public authority.

First, government, especially the government of the United States, must stop surrendering its authority to the lawless. The idea that by yielding to the masses, who deliberately precipitate disorder and who violate the law, we will in some manner influence them to perform their obligations as citizens, is fallacious. When we coddle those who defy government and expect that through coddling them we will induce them to comply with the laws and eventually to perform their duties as citizens, we commit a grave wrong against the United States. The first place to begin to establish the idea that law and order must prevail, that the lawless shall not be permitted to take control, and that the innocent shall be protected is in the government of the United States, especially in the Department of Justice.

Second, privately operated institutions should quit abdicating their authorities and responsibilities. They should not allow them to be taken over by groups which have become convinced that through anarchy and the willful precipitation of disorder they can achieve their objectives.

I have just observed, while reading the New York *Times*, a picture which I suppose was taken at Columbia University. It is a picture of a long-haired student seated on a windowsill, with his legs hanging down the wall. He is showing the "V" sign of victory. The title of the article is "Willful Disorder Achieves Its Objective." Conduct of that type, accepted by those in authority, is an example for all who believe in violence to follow that type of conduct and to be convinced that by the creation of mass disorder they will get what they want.

Third, I regretfully say that our courts have forgotten the innocent man. They are concerned only with what is supposed to be the unlimited and perfect protection of the criminal.

Congress and Poverty

By REP. BUZ LUKENS (R.-Ohio)

Judging from the attitude in Congress and among the residents of Washington, D.C., the "Poor People's Campaign" sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference bids fair to produce more ill will than progress. For one thing, the Congress is in no mood to be pressured into quick enactment of bills which the SCLC has arbitrarily decided will relieve the problem of poverty in this country. It is much more likely to become angered by the inconvenience and the danger involved in the large-scale march and camp-in. For another thing, more and more members of Congress are taking a closer look at the entire problem of poverty in the United States with particular reference to whom it affects where it is most prevalent. They are beginning to understand that much of the poverty in this country is centered in our rural areas. They are finding out the problem is not the exclusive property of the big city slums and so-called "ghetto" sections.

Inflation Dangers

By SEN. JACK MILLER (R.-Iowa)

For too long those in control of our federal government in Washington have covered up the reality of inflation. And when its existence was finally acknowledged, it has been played down with the excuse that inflation is a necessary evil to be expected at a time when we have never had it so good.

But the social tragedies spawned by the evil of inflation have not been deterred by sanguine speeches and press releases. Inflation has been exacting a terrible price from the people.

- Inflation has added over $100 billion to the cost of living of our people in the past seven years.
- Inflation has shrunk the value of checking accounts of our people by $10 billion in the past seven years.
- Inflation has robbed our people of $32 billion from their savings in the past seven years.
- Inflation has reduced the value of pension fund reserves by over $17 billion in the past seven years.
- Inflation has eroded away $15 billion from the value of U.S. government and other bonds in the past seven years.
- Inflation has eaten $13 billion from life insurance reserves in the past seven years.

These costs of inflation total over $188 billion in the past seven years—nearly $1,000 for every man, woman and child.

And it is getting worse. Already, in the first three months of 1968, the American people have been hit by more than $19 billion of inflation—$10 billion in cost-of-living inflation and $9 billion loss of value of their cash-convertible assets. At this rate, inflation in 1968 will take away more purchasing power from our people than the federal income tax.

This record constitutes a glaring indictment of the stewardship of those in control of the Administration and the Congress.

Census vs. Privacy

By REP. FRANK HORTON (R.-N.Y.)

The 1970 Census survey is becoming a serious invasion of the right of privacy. I'm also concerned with the current economic census. Countless merchants, manufacturers, lawyers and small businessmen have expressed concern to me about the inconvenience and expense they have undergone in obtaining and supplying the information called for in more than 125 items of the business census forms, in order to avoid punishment.

Taxes to Ecuador

By REP. LAWRENCE WILLIAMS (R.-Pa.)

The Agency for International Development (AID) has spent $66 million in Ecuador, and this is just a small part of the money which Ecuador has received from this country. And AID admits that some of the goals of self-help have not been achieved. One flop that AID admits is that it gave $100,000 to the government of Ecuador and then sent some United States Internal Revenue Service experts to teach the Ecuadorans how to collect more tax dollars. AID says it didn't work, as Ecuadorans just don't want to pay taxes. So while the Internal Revenue Service grinds relentlessly and constantly on the American taxpayer, AID gives tax dollars to Ecuador because they don't want to collect taxes from their own people.

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Item Veto for LBJ?

By SEN. ALLEN ELLENDER (D.-La.)

I am glad to see that President Johnson has agreed to accept the congressional direction that the budget for next fiscal year should be reduced by $6 billion. While I regret that it will be necessary to increase taxes, on a temporary basis, at the time this reduction is made, I firmly believe that such an increase is absolutely necessary if we are to reduce the inflation that is mounting so dangerously and rapidly. I would have preferred to see the reductions made by the Congress, on an item-by-item basis, as each of the various appropriations bills was considered in committee and by the two houses of Congress. The blanket reduction of $6 billion means that the President and the Budget Bureau will have a free hand to apply the reductions wherever they see fit. This will amount to an "item veto" being placed in the hands of the President. There are some members of Congress who would favor giving to the President this power on a permanent basis. In my opinion, no single change would so increase the power of the presidency, at the expense of the Congress, and I have always objected to giving the President this authority. The responsibility to appropriate funds lies with the Congress, and that is where it should remain.

THOSE ADMINISTRATION "BRIDGES" now link the Communist bloc with U.S. prisons. Rep. Durward Hall (R.-Mo.) recently heard from an inmate in a federal pen that Communist products are used in the prison brush shop. The prisoner protested the purchase of Communist bristles and enclosed a "Made in USSR" shipping label.

Slaying Aftermath

Reds Backing Arab Extremists?

By REP. JOEL T. BROYHILL (R.-Va.)

I have asked the United States attorney general to open an investigation into foreign direction of Communist and Arab propaganda activities promoting violence and terrorism among young people in the United States, especially college students.

The political assassination of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy was apparently motivated by his support of the state of Israel and opposition to the Communist and Arab line in the Middle East. The accused assassin, Sirhan B. Sirhan, who is not an American citizen, was reportedly active in extremist agitation of Arab and so-called "New Left" student circles at Pasadena State College in California.

The assassination was in obvious conformity with the stated aims of the pro-Communist Arab terrorist organization known as the "El Fatah." This group has advocated the emulation of the Viet Cong and the assassination of Israelis and others who dare support Israel. Arab extremists identified with the so-called "Arab National Liberation Front" have been trained in Moscow and Peking and have been endorsed by the Viet Cong.

President Nasser of Egypt and other Arab leaders urged Arabs throughout the world to demonstrate their wrath on June 5, the first anniversary of the outbreak of last year's Middle East war . . . a war caused by the Communist and Arab attempt to liquidate the state of Israel. June 5 was the day Sirhan Sirhan assassinated Sen. Kennedy, according to the charge lodged against him.

The Communist aim is to keep the Middle East issue inflamed to stampede us into making a hasty and unsatisfactory withdrawal from Viet Nam, now subject of peace talks in Paris. The Communist aim is to penetrate and dominate the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Now it appears that a further step has been taken, escalating the violence and riots mushrooming on the campuses of American universities. It involves the exportation of terrorism. They have moved from the guerrilla tactics of the Arabs against Israel to the assassination of American politicians inside the United States.

I think the time has come for the attorney general to ascertain the answers to the following questions:

- Who finances the Organization of Arab Students in the United States?
- What is the group's link with foreign embassies?
- What are the connections with Stokely Carmichael, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who recently visited Cairo and Damascus where he discussed Arab revolutionary tactics and methods of cooperation?
- What are the ties with the so-called "New Left"?
- What measures are now contemplated to control foreign agitators, especially those active in radical student movements and other subversive activities?

I am asking for a report from the attorney general at his earliest convenience.

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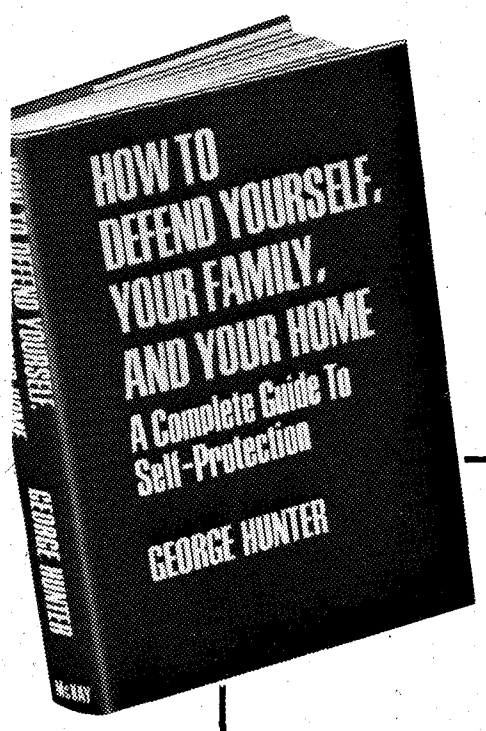

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